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### THE JOURNALS OF WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON in his will made disposition of all of his private papers by the following clause :

*"Item.* To my nephew Bushrod Washington, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this Country ; I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving ; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to detain them, I give and bequeath my Library of books and pamphlets of every kind."

The manuscripts thus devised by Washington to the son of his brother John Augustine, to whom was also bequeathed the Mount Vernon estate, fell at the death of Judge Washington, in 1829, by the thirteenth article of his will, to his nephew, George Corbin Washington, from whom, by two purchases under acts of Congress of 1834 and 1849, they were acquired by the government and now form part of its archives in the custody of the Department of State.

The portion first purchased, embracing the Army records and the letters and documents of public interest, were at that time in the hands of Mr. Sparks for the purposes of his work—The Writings of George Washington—and under his supervision the letters and documents were arranged and indexed in the most admirable manner by the Reverend Thaddeus Mason Harris ; the Army records also, were then classified by Peter Force by the direction of the Secretary of State. The second purchase comprised the papers of a more personal character, principally relative to the earliest and latest years of Washington's life ; but they are nevertheless important to the history of the revolutionary times and of the establishment of the Federal Government. They were used by Marshall and by Sparks, but still more by Irving, who gained from them the details upon which he dwelt more carefully, as better suited the scope of his work. Among this latter series are the journals to which these notes relate.

The years of Washington lacked but three of three score and ten; daily records in his own hand have been preserved of about one-fourth of that period, covering some of the most momentous parts of his life; unhappily they are not continuous but are interrupted by long intervals. In them he has left us his portrait, and it is the portrait of the Washington of tradition. These journals, his voluminous correspondence, and the estimation of his contemporaries make up a testimony as to the accuracy of that portrait, which cannot be impeached; a greater body of authoritative material concerning any one of the great men of history does not exist. This, in the presence of his journals and letters, must be felt; and this, in view of an unaccountable spirit of detraction, which is from time to time manifested, it seems proper to state.

The early formation of his character enabled him in youth to assume the management of important public affairs. While yet a lad, at the age of thirteen, he determined, once for all, upon maxims for the conduct of life; they are entitled "Rules of Civility & Decent Behaviour In Company and Conversation," and his observance of them is distinctly to be traced throughout his career. Not only in morals and manners, but also in precise and economical methods of work was he early established; in all matters his habits appear to have been rather the result of selection than of experience. In these journals the development of his methods may be seen; they are written with greatest attention to order and neatness, and form an epitome of his civil and military administration of the affairs of the country.

The earliest journal is entitled: "A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains, began Fryday the 11th. of March 1747/8."

It continues in brief daily entries of the incidents of his progress and novel experiences until "Wednesday ye 13th of April 1748." This, the first of his expeditions, was undertaken at the age of sixteen, in company with George Fairfax, for the purpose of surveying and defining lots upon a tract of land among the Alleghanies, the property of Lord Fairfax. It covers one line more than twenty-four pages of a little skin-bound book, which measures three and three-fourths by five and seven-eighths inches. Beginning at the back or last leaf of the same, in accordance with a method he frequently observed, of using one book as a register for two analogous subjects, and extending over eighteen and a half pages, are careful memoranda of the results of each day's work. Between the diary and the technical notes the space, not entirely filled, is devoted to notes of other surveys, to verses indicating a hopeless youthful attachment and to the drafts or copies of letters to "Dear

friend John," "Dear friend Robin," "Dear Richard," and "Dear Sally," which are referred to by Irving. These letters, however effusive, are dignified and by no means sustain the Washington of Thackeray. A companion volume in size and binding for 1749 and 1750 contains only surveying records, evidences of his constant occupation in the profession he had chosen.

The only serious mutilation which has been observed in the Washington manuscripts and which occurred before it came into the possession of the government, is in the Journal of the voyage to the Barbadoes, with his brother Lawrence; remnants of forty-two leaves exist, of which but thirty-two, more or less impaired, contain sufficient of the narrative to render them of value. They embrace a tabular record or log of the weather, winds, speed and course of the vessel, its position as to latitude and longitude, and the usual ship-board observations of sail sighted and other incidents which entertain a voyager; also a diary, in which was put down what he learned of navigation, which he seems to have studied attentively during the long weeks at sea.

Here is one of the latest entries in the outward bound portion:

*Wednesday, October 30, 1751.* "This morning arose with agreeable assurances of a certain steady trade wind which after near five weeks buffeting and being toss'd by a fickle and merciless ocean, was gladdening knews." He remained at Barbadoes from Tuesday, November 6, until Sunday, December 22, enjoying, with his brother, the most hospitable attentions, such as visitors of their position would naturally receive, and which are circumstantially described in the diary. Upon the return voyage he wrote out his observations, concerning the people and the natural characteristics of the island, which are singularly acute for one of his age—he was then nineteen—showing that his opinions were clearly formed as to society and that he already possessed that love for agriculture which at all times made absence from his estate irksome to him.

For the period between 1751 and 1760, no manuscript records are known to have been preserved, but an account should here find place of two journals of 1753 and 1754, which have been printed. They form an essential part of the history of the struggle between England and France in North America and caused Washington to become conspicuous in Europe as well as at home.

The first is of his expedition from October 31, 1753, to January 16, 1754, as bearer of despatches from the Governor of Virginia to the Commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, which was prepared, on

his return, from "rough minutes" taken on the way and printed by order of Governor Dinwiddie, at Williamsburg, early in 1754. Of this impression, it is said by Field, "that but two copies are known to exist;" one of them, once the property of Richard Peters, was sold in the spring of 1880, with the second part of the Brinley Library. It has been printed several times. Sparks states that "it was copied into nearly all the newspapers of the other colonies." It was reprinted at London in 1754; by Sparks in Vol. II., pages 432-447 of *The Writings of Washington*; at New York in 1860, with notes by J. G. Shea, to accompany Mr. Lossing's *Diary of Washington from 1789 to 1791*; and in fac-simile of the London edition by Sabin, as one of his series of reprints in 1865.

In the second of the Journals, Washington recounted the story of the Campaign on the Ohio under orders from the Colonial Government to prevent the aggressions of the French. It was his first military expedition and during it, in the battle at Great Meadows, occurred his first engagement. We have of this only the extracts beginning April 2, the day he set out with his command from Alexandria, and terminating abruptly June 27, 1754. Six days after the latter date, on the 3d July, Fort Necessity, to which he had retired, capitulated. It has been generally believed that this journal fell into the hands of the French at Braddock's defeat. There are reasons for the conjecture, however, that it was found after the fort was abandoned among the articles hidden by Washington, which, under the agreement entered into with him, ought to have been respected, and that it was transmitted by Captain de Villiers with his own journal to France. Whatever its history, which is likely never to be explained, all knowledge of it appears to have been derived from the following publication, in which it was employed as a *pièce justificative*, issued by the French Government, in support of its position in the questions of dispute with England. "Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux 'Observations' envoyées par les Ministres d'Angleterre, dans les cours de l'Europe." Imprimerie Royale, 1756. A copy of this work, "found in a French prize, taken and carried into St. Christophers," was brought to New York, where it was translated, and in two distinct editions was printed by H. Gaine in 1757, under title: "A memorial containing a summary view of facts with their authorities, in answer to observations sent by the English ministry to the courts of Europe." Besides the above editions, with the same imprint, there was another at New York by J. Parker, and one at Philadelphia by J. Chatten, all in 1757. It was published at London in the same year,



under title: "The conduct of the late ministry," and was reissued there, presumably from the same plates, two years later, with the new title: "The Mystery reveal'd; or, Truth brought to Light."

The journal was appended to Livingston's "Review of the Military Operations in North America," printed at Dublin in 1757. In 1847 an imperfect copy of one of Gaine's New York editions of the "Memorial," completed in manuscript by Mr. Sparks, was reprinted in full in Vol. II., Nos. 3 to 6, of "The Olden Time." The French government had for its object in publishing this journal to affect public opinion against the English by casting odium upon Washington, who was in command of the small body of Colonial troops and Indian allies at the battle of Great Meadows. The extracts therefrom, and the construction placed upon them by the French editor, together with the articles of capitulation of Fort Mifflin, were adduced in proof that Washington was guilty of the assassination of Jumonville, in the Great Meadows affair. By the blundering and ignorance of Van Braam, Washington's "master of fence," who was with him on that perilous expedition, the only one of the party at all acquainted with the French language, the preamble to the articles containing the charge of assassination was by him hurriedly and inaccurately translated, leading Washington to subscribe to his own indictment.

Of the Braddock campaign and the incidents of his life thereafter until 1760 we have no diary. The next in order of the manuscript journals is one begun January 1, 1760, and ended May 22, of the same year, which shows him as a farmer. He has noted therein the occurrences in his family, visits made and received, the state of his fields, of the weather, and accounts of his stock. Washington has been considered deficient in humor. On Friday, February 15th, he wrote:

"A small fine Rain from No. Et. wet the Top of my Hay that had been landed last night. It was all carted up however to the Barn & the wet and dry seperated. Went to a Ball at Alexandria where Musick and Dancing was the chief Entertainment, however in a convenient Room detached for the purpose abounded great plenty of Bread and Butter, some Biscuits with Tea, & coffee which the Drinkers of coud not Distinguish from Hot water sweetened— Be it remembered that Pocket handkerchiefs serv'd the purposes of Table Cloths & napkins and that no apologies were made for either.\* The Proprietors of this Ball were Messrs. C—, L— & R— W—, but the Doctr. not getting it conducted agreeable to his own taste would claim no share of the merit of it."

\* "I shall therefore distinguish this Ball by the stile & title of the Bread & Butter Ball."

Succeeding these fragmentary records comes the first systematic series of journals, which was continued in one form from 1760 to 1775; of which all but those for 1762 and 1767 have been preserved. Washington employed for this series copies, interleaved with blank paper, of "The Virginia Almanac," compiled by "Theophilus Wreg, Philom." and others, published annually at Williamsburg, with the exception of the year 1766, when he used "The Universal American Almanac, or Yearly Magazine, by Andrew Aguecheek, Philom.," printed at Philadelphia. From 1760 to 1767 the entries related solely to his plantations. In 1768 he began the journal with the caption on every diary page, "Where and how my time is spent," under which, with the variation, "Where, how, or with whom my time is spent," the record runs until June 19, 1775, when, for obvious reasons, it was discontinued. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this series, full as it is of biographical interest. The distinctive features of the earlier volumes are in these, to a large extent, continued. They are records of facts, not of opinions. Social engagements are their chief topics while he attended the Congresses of 1774 and 1775; and the same characteristic is notable concerning his diary of the later time of the Convention for framing the Constitution.

The journal resumed May 1, 1781, was not carried beyond November 5th. In this commemorative number the two volumes in which that fragment is contained are, it is believed, for the first time printed. As will be seen in the short note by which it is prefaced, of which a facsimile also is given, Washington lamented that he had not preserved an account of events from the beginning of the war.

After an interval of nearly three years another volume was opened to hold the narrative of a journey, extending from September 1 to October 4, 1784, the purposes of which were stated in the first entry, in his own words, as follows;

"*September, 1784.* Having found it indispensably necessary to visit my Landed property west of the Apalachian Mountains, and more especially that part of it which I held in copartnership with Mr. Gilbert Simpson.—Having determined upon a tour into that country,—and having made preparations for it,—I did on the first day of this month (September) set out on my journey."

Of the final series of journals, there are in the possession of the Government eleven volumes, two others are known to be extant, and there is probably a third. These volumes are uniform in size with the three last mentioned—that is to say, they are thin, oblong in form, bound in half sheep, measuring seven by four and seven-eighths inches, and are

numbered respectively 1 to 11. The entries are continuous from January 1, 1785, to February 2, 1789. Two of the series, numbered 13 and 14, it is understood, were presented to a friend by Judge Bushrod Washington. These have been printed in at least three editions under the editorial care of Mr. Lossing. The first, issued in 1858 as No. II of the Bradford Club publications, comprised only the contents of volume 13, October 1, 1789, to March 10, 1790; the second was published by C. B. Richardson & Co., of New York, in 1860, and contained both the above and volume 14, covering from October 1, 1789, to June 1, 1791, and the journal of the first expedition to the Ohio edited by Mr. Shea, before described; the third edition appeared as a publication of the Virginia Historical Society in 1861. The second and third editions are identical and from the same plates.

There are indications that the habit of making "rough minutes" for a diary, to be expanded and written out in permanent form, which Washington observed while upon his first tour to the Ohio, was followed through life. The Library of Congress possesses an original journal of Washington running from Tuesday, May 8th, to Thursday, November 15, 1787, of which a fair and somewhat enlarged transcript is to be found in one of the volumes of the final series in the Department of State. Similar in size to the above, which may be called "minutes," there are among the archives thirteen leaves, evidently of sheets of letter paper, folded, cut, and pinned together, continuing the account of his Southern tour from June 2 to July 4, 1791, the larger part of which is to be found in the second and third of Lossing's editions of the Diary. These "minutes" failed, perhaps, to be entered in the usual form for preservation, and they are left unfinished. The last entry was written at Lancaster, Pennsylvania:

"*Monday [July] 4th.* This being the anniversary of American Independence, and being kindly requested to do it, I agreed to halt here this day and partake of the entertainment which was preparing for it. In the forenoon I walked about the town— At half passed 2 o'clock I received, and answered an address from the Corporation and the compliments of the Clergy of different denominations—dined between 3 & 4 o'clock—drank Tea with Mrs. Hand about [—]"

Again public duties caused a discontinuance of the diary which for six years and a half had been faithfully kept. Only once during his second term as President was the practice revived. The insurrection in western Pennsylvania called Washington from the seat of Government at Philadelphia to Fort Cumberland, "the rendezvous of the

militia," whereupon he recorded a full and detailed narrative of his travels from September 30 to October 20, 1794. But one other article remains to be mentioned, and that is a daily record, principally of the weather, from February 10 to December 13, 1799. It is on small sheets of note paper pinned together. Upon a leaf fastened to the first page Bushrod Washington has written, "The last writing of Genl. Washington." The last entry at the end of the forty-seventh page, made at night, is this:

[December] "13. Morning Snowing & abt. 3 Inches deep—wind at No. Et. & mer. 30. Contind. snowing till 1 oclock—and abt. 4 it became perfectly clear—wind in the same place but not hard—mer. 28 at night."

Washington died in the night of the next day, 14th December, 1799.

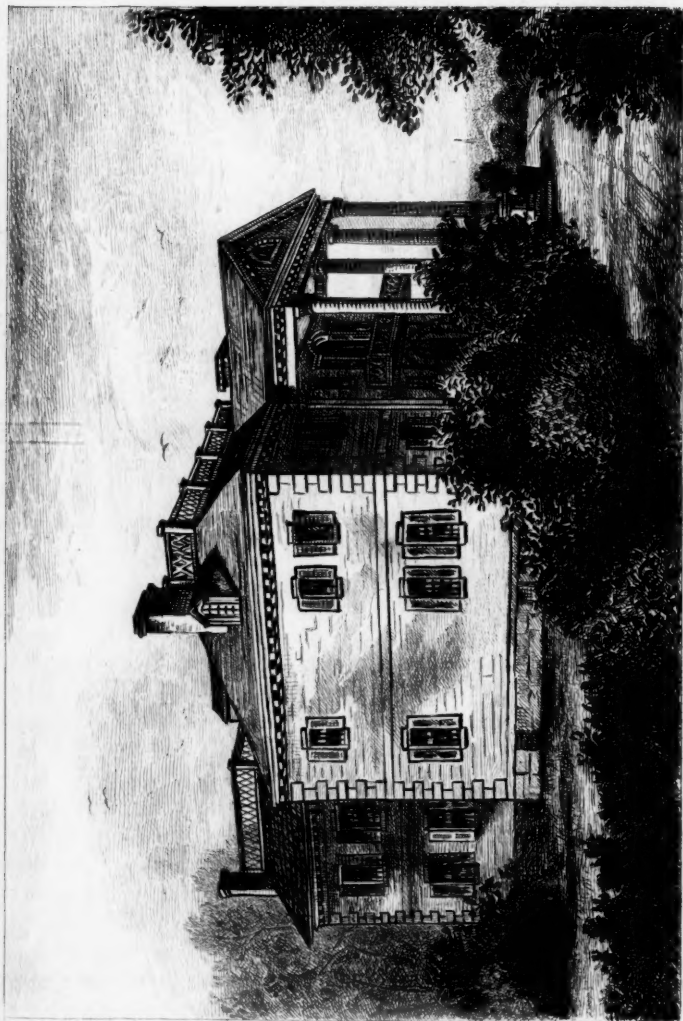
THEODORE F. DWIGHT



WASHINGTON'S BOOK PLATE







Copyright 1880.

*The Paper Mill House  
Washington Head Brackets on Barton Heights*

## THE ROGER MORRIS HOUSE

### WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS ON HARLEM HEIGHTS

The name of Morris is familiar to American ears as that of a widespread family who, from the early colonial period, have held large estates and high positions of honor and trust. It may be found inscribed on that immortal scroll, the Declaration of American Independence. All of the branches in this country, although not immediately connected, are descended from the same parent stock. According to learned genealogists, they all derive from a powerful Chieftain of Britain, the founder of the fourth royal tribe of Wales. The name is a compound of the Welsh words *Mawr-rwyce*, which is translated to mean strong or brave in battle.

Roger Morris, the original owner of the house which became later famous as Washington's headquarters on Harlem Heights, was of a different branch from the neighboring family of Morris of Morrisania. He was the third son of Charles Morris of the Manor house, Wandsworth, England, and Sarah Haldimand, his wife, and was born on the 28th of January, 1727. Cadet of a house, whose natural instincts led to the profession of arms, he entered the British army at an early age, and in the year 1764 was first heard of in America as an aid on the staff of General Braddock. He took part in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, and was among the wounded on that fatal day.

George Washington of the Dominion, as the Colony of Virginia was styled, had been deprived of his rank as Colonel in the army of the colony by the reorganization of that force ordered by the Governor for the purpose of bringing it fully within his own control; an arrangement by which no officer was commissioned of higher rank than captain. Washington refused to serve in such subordinate capacity. He was then at the age of twenty-three years, known not only in his native province but throughout the colonies as a young man of mark, and on more than one occasion had approved himself to those in authority as worthy of the most important trusts. His conduct in thus refusing to serve on the eve of an active campaign, one in which his own neighbors and former companions in arms were to take part, and above all wherein the safety of the colony was so nearly involved, might, and in the case of any other man most probably would, have given rise to strictures of

a character least tolerable to a soldier. His course in this case was dictated by a high sense of honor, and a misconstruction of his motives was made impossible by the firm stand he now took in resisting the aggressions of the Royal Governor on the dignity and rights not only of Virginia but of all the colonies. That strong feeling of self-respect which then impelled him found expression in a later time in his refusal to receive a letter from Lord Howe addressed to him as G. Washington, Esq., &c., &c. Even then was stirring within him that spirit of American independence, that yearning for American nationality which in after years he vigorously and often expressed in public addresses and private correspondence, when State jealousies had brought the struggling Confederacy to the brink of ruin. In such estimation was he held that General Braddock offered him a place in his own military family. As aid-de-camp he made the campaign, and, as is well known, his skill and dispositions brought back to Fort Cumberland the wreck of the army which Braddock's disregard of his counsels had involved in a disaster the result of which threatened British dominion in America.

Washington's acquaintance, if not intimacy, with Roger Morris, thus begun in the wilderness and on the battle-field, was renewed at a later date and under softer surroundings, which have somewhat of a romantic flavor. The disputes as to relative rank between officers bearing the royal commission and those appointed by the colonial governors assumed such shape and importance that in the year 1756 Washington, who had been duly commissioned by the Governor as commander of the Virginia troops, found his authority as such disputed by a captain of British regulars whose force did not exceed thirty men. This absurd assumption brought the affair to an issue. Washington was deputed by the authorities of Virginia to lay the whole matter before General Shirley, then commander-in-chief of the royal forces with headquarters at Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay colony.

In the summer of 1756, accompanied by his aid Captain Mercer, and Captain Stewart and a retinue of servants such as became his wealth, rank, and official errand, Washington started northward on his mission. No man was more widely or more favorably known throughout the colonies. The hero of Fort Duquesne, whom the Indians believed to bear a charmed life, had a personal presence and dignity of bearing which commended him to the favor of those among whom he now came for the first time. The most distinguished honors and hospitalities were showered upon him at every point on his journey. We may well believe that with eyes early trained in the school of the engineer

and surveyor, and accustomed to weigh the strategic value of position, he took in every feature of the topography of the country. At times in his joyous journey the fair landscape may have passed unheeded, and the salutations of welcome which greeted him have fallen on inattentive ears, as with foreboding prescience of the burden that was to be laid upon him in the near future he reflected on the possibilities of a sterner mission which it might be his part to fill.

At New York the party were entertained for some days at the house of Beverly Robinson in the Highlands. Robinson, a native of Virginia, had lately married Susannah, the eldest daughter of Frederick Phillipse, owner of the Manor of Phillipsburgh, an estate granted to his grandfather by Governor Fletcher, which comprised a great portion of Westchester County and parts of Dutchess and Putnam. The entail, however, had been broken by the now obsolete legal process known as fine and common recovery, and the estate divided among the heirs at law, among whom was Mary Phillipse, sister of Mrs. Robinson and heiress in her own right of fifty thousand acres of land. Beautiful, and accomplished, this young heiress is credited in the gossip of the day with having proved so attractive to Washington that he not only tarried for several days on his way to Boston, but that on his return he sought the fair damsel and lingered under the spell of her charms. Some assert even that he made her an offer of marriage, which was rejected; this story may probably be set down as a later-day Tory invention. However susceptible Washington may have been to feminine charms, and that he was keenly so is readily admitted, he was not the man to leave his wooing to another. It is a fact well known to the Fairfax and Cary families, and of which epistolary evidence remains, that at this time he was the sworn knight of Sally Cary of Virginia, the lady who afterwards became the wife of George William Fairfax. It is not recorded in the chronicles of the time whether or no Captain Roger Morris was a guest at the Robinson house at the time of Washington's visits, but it is probable. Society in New York was limited in number, and Morris, hearing of the presence of his old companion in arms, to whom he owed his safe retreat from the field of Duquesne, would have eagerly sought him at a house where his own presence was undoubtedly welcome. Thus for the second time the two men are brought in contact. Captain Morris was a suitor for the hand of Miss Phillipse, whom he married at the Phillipsburgh Manor House in March, 1758. The occasion was one of great pomp, ceremony, and prolonged festivity. After his marriage Captain Morris went on active service, and was with Wolfe

at Quebec. In 1760 he was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1764 sold out his commission and settled in New York, where he became a member of the King's Council, and was as well and honorably known in the civil as he had been formerly in the military service of the Crown.

The estate which Colonel Morris purchased on New York Island, and upon which he erected the mansion house known in revolutionary history as the Roger Morris house, and to New Yorkers of a later day as the Jumel house, is situated at the upper end of Manhattan Island. The house, which still stands, unchanged, a noble specimen of the homes of the colonial gentry, is almost opposite to the intersection of Tenth avenue and 161st street with the old Kingsbridge road. It fronts to the southward, and its eastern portico and balcony overlook from its precipitous height the Harlem River, Westchester and the Sound, and command a view of the Harlem Plains to their southerly limit at McGowan's Pass.

The locality, from its connection with Revolutionary events, requires a more extended description. A marked feature in the geological structure of Manhattan Island is the ridge of rock which forms its backbone; beginning at Spuyten Duyvil Creek, this ridge extends southward on the west side of the island as far as Inwood (old Tubby Hook), where it sinks abruptly almost to the level of the river, and again rising sharply is prolonged southwardly, with occasional ravines opening upon the Hudson River, to the Point of Rocks, now 127th street, where it breaks off as suddenly. Here again the lands fall almost to the level of the river; the narrow pass known as the Hollow Way, which separates this part of the island from the Bloomingdale or Vandewater heights below, expands south-eastwardly into the Harlem plains and reaches the East River. At its upper half, just below Tubby Hook, is the lofty hill rising precipitously from the Hudson River, on the plateau of which, covering the summit, Fort Washington was erected; a position which dominated the river and adjacent country. Facing the Hudson River, the bluff is bold and almost inaccessible, while toward the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek the ground slopes gently in some places to rolling meadows and marshy banks, and in others presents to the stream an almost vertical wall of rock.

The island of Manhattan for purposes of military offence and defence is naturally divided by the Harlem Plains, a low and almost level tract of land which extends from the East River at about the north side of the present 108th street, whose southerly boundary was formed at that time by Harlem Creek, a narrow but deep current of tide-water which



penetrated the land and was the outlet of a stream now obliterated which had its source at the foot of Vandewater's, now Bloomingdale Heights. The low lands skirting the northern edge of these heights along their base to the Hudson River, debouched through a narrow pass called the Hollow Way. On the opposite or northern side of the Hollow Way rose sharply from the plain the ridge called Harlem Heights, from whose southern extremity, at its base, projecting and to some extent overlapping Vandewater's Heights to the south, towered the Point of Rocks to the eminence upon the summit, where now stands the convent of the Sacred Heart. The general contour of the upper end of the island is that of a range of rocky hills whose face toward the Hudson River is almost precipitous, broken by ravines opening to the river, the summit being comparatively a level plateau whose eastern edge was a wall of rock at the foot of which flowed the Harlem River. Between the two ridges which marked the course of this wall of rock lay a valley formed by a depression of the hills on either side of which it was prolonged to the northward until it descended into the Dyckman Meadows which lay at the foot of the ridge which guarded it on the west, and extended from the eminence known then and now as Fort George (from the earthwork so called which crowned its summit), the last high ground on the Harlem side, and which commanded the road and the river. The old King's Bridge road, then the only road which led from the island, crossed Harlem Plains in a north-westerly direction from McGowan's Pass, followed the base of the hills to the present 144th street, and ascending gained the plateau, along which it passed to the head of the valley above mentioned, whose course it followed to the meadows at the foot of Fort George, which it traversed, turning eastwardly toward the Harlem River on a course different from that on which it is to-day laid out to the King's Bridge, which still spans the stream at the same point as in the colonial days and gave access to Westchester County. There were no bridges connecting the island with the main land save King's Bridge and one below and a short distance from it called indifferently Queen's, Farmers', and later Dyckman's Bridge. Spuyten Duyvel creek, the prolongation of the Harlem, wound through the meadows to the Hudson. The southern edge of Westchester was steep, rugged, and rocky as that of the island opposite. The ridge which forms the westerly line of that portion of Manhattan, now called Washington Heights, is severed from its upper prolongation by a valley at Tubby Hook which enters the meadows at the foot of Fort George. Upon the highest point of the

southerly part of the heights was situated Fort Washington, an earthwork erected by the Americans in 1776. Its ruins are still visible on the line of 182d street, within the grounds of James Gordon Bennett, at a height of two hundred and thirty feet above the river. It was an earthwork of small extent, with a covering redoubt strengthened by batteries on the plains below commanding the King's Bridge and Road. The position was impregnable save to direct assault, and could only be turned from the rear by a detour to the eastward through Long Island Sound and a march on the main land. It was strengthened by three lines of works extending across the island, the first at about 146th street, the second at 153d, and the third at 160th street, still unfinished at the time the island was abandoned. The whole island, with the exception of the plains, was heavily timbered at the beginning of the Revolution, but this feature soon changed. The large increase of population by the British force caused a great demand for fuel, which was increased by the intense and prolonged cold of the succeeding winter, that of '79-'80 being memorable from the fact that a train of artillery and infantry crossed the bay from Staten Island to New York on the ice. The forests disappeared under the blows of the woodcutter's axe. It is stated that the only tree in the city proper which antedates the Revolution is an English elm, which stands at the northwest corner of the old City Hall, whose massive trunk, infirm with years, is bound with iron, but which at each recurring spring feels the sap of youth stir in its sturdy limbs, and casts a shade grateful to idlers who lounge beneath it. There is also an ancient balsam poplar at Gracie's Point, formerly Horen's Hook, of which a description appeared in the Magazine (III. 692). This is believed to be the only other tree of as great age.

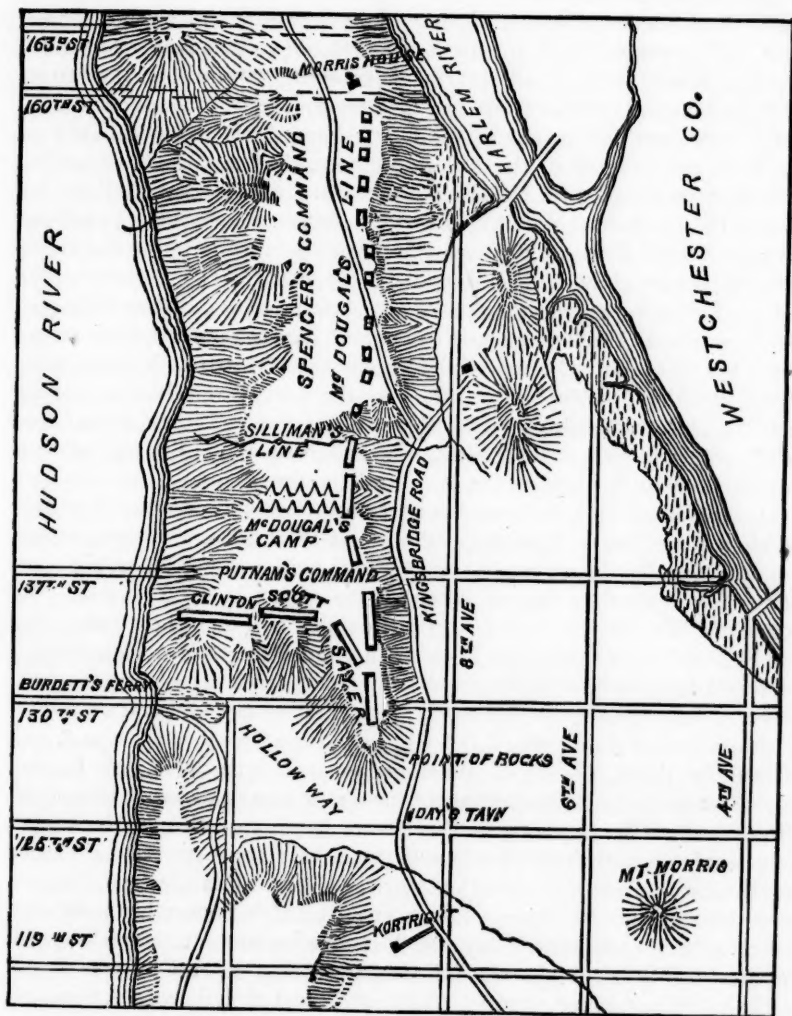
On the 27th of August, 1776, the British forces under General Howe defeated the Americans in the battle of Long Island. Washington made a masterly retreat to New York where he awaited the movements of the enemy. Howe's force was greatly superior in numbers, and his fleet gave him command of the water and choice of the point of attack. The point selected was Kipp's bay, at the foot of what is now 34th Street. Early on the morning of the 15th September the British troops were embarked in boats in Newtown creek and moved across the East river in regular order towards the easy landing place which the depression of ground here afforded. The disembarkation was protected by five frigates, which had taken up position within musket shot of the shore. The guns of the frigates gave notice of the advance, and Washington, who was at the morning in Harlem, rode down to Kipp's Bay, the

objective point of the British, which was covered by a redoubt, as was also the shore of the river as far down as Corlear's Hook (Grand street), the whole line being guarded by two brigades of Continental troops and militia, under Generals Parsons and Fellows. He arrived in time to see them in full flight, terrified by the sound of the British cannon from the ships lying within musket shot of the shore, thus leaving the enemy's troops, who approached in boats concealed by the smoke of the guns, to land unopposed. On this occasion the traditional Washington asserted himself; enraged at the cowardice of his men, he rode into the hottest fire, and was with difficulty turned back to a place of safety by his aids. The army was at once retreated to the heights of Harlem, where it was encamped, the strength of the position justifying the hope Washington, writing on the same day, expressed to Congress "that the enemy would meet with a defeat if in case of an attack the generality of our troops would behave with tolerable bravery." Putnam, escaping from the lower part of the city with his men, but leaving behind him the greater part of his material and stores, joined the army on the heights, while the British threw a line across the island from Kipp's Bay to Bloomingdale (94th street), their left resting upon the Hudson and covered by three frigates, which had advanced as far up the river as the foot of the ravine at the lower extremity, Bloomingdale (about 97th street).

The lines of the American army were posted on Harlem Heights, the right on the Hudson, the left on the Harlem River, and the advance guard at Point of Rocks, with a picket at its foot, most probably thrown forward into the plain, and possibly advanced as far as the crest of Vandewater's heights opposite. The advanced post of the British lay that night at the Apthorpe house (94th street and 9th avenue).

Early the next morning, the 16th, a small party of rangers, led by Colonel Knowlton, who had been ordered out by Washington to reconnoitre and gain intelligence, approached the British advanced posts under cover of the woods, by way of Vandewater's heights, and as they were cautiously feeling their way through the thick forest, shrouded in the dim and vaporous light, in which the shadows of the chill September dawn were yet striving with the approaching day, came suddenly into collision with a superior force of British light infantry. Knowlton's men for a time stood their ground, but borne back by weight of numbers gave way slowly, and fell back upon their lines at Point of Rocks. The sound of the musketry roused the American camp, staff officers hurried to the front, troops were hastily formed to repel the threatened attack of the enemy, who now appeared on the

top of Vandewater's Heights, where they halted a moment, waked the echoes with the taunting notes of their bugles, as though engaged in a hunt, then plunged down the hill into the Hollow way between in pursuit of the retreating Americans. But the hunt was not over yet. Washington, advised of the state of affairs, rode down from the Morris house in hot haste to the Point of Rocks, where, learning the number of the enemy, and seeing the temper of his own men and their eagerness to engage, he ordered an attack to be made on the flank of the British, and at the same time sent another force to pass, under cover of the wood, to their rear. Now the quarry turned at bay; Knowlton's rangers reformed their broken ranks and advanced against the enemy, who had formed behind a fence at the foot of the hill. Leitch, Knowlton, and Crarey pressed eagerly forward; the British bugles, which rung out the notes of the chase so cheerily in the morning, now wailed the retreat, and the bravest of the braggart Light Infantry, obeying the summons with an alacrity which manifested the strict discipline of the corps, scrambled up the hill, scourged by a withering fire in the rear from the pursuing Americans, who, fighting under the eye of their chief, burned with desire to avenge the disaster of Long Island, and atone for their misconduct at Kipp's Bay. The affair developed in magnitude. Washington pressed forward reinforcements; the Forty-second Highlanders came to the aid of the hunted light infantry. Howe at the Apthorpe House was roused from his sense of security by the sound of the firing, which steadily increased in volume as it drew near his quarters. Donop's grenadiers and yagers with two field pieces came to the rescue of their comrades, but the British retreat had almost become a rout, and it was not until Leisingen's grenadiers with Block's and Mingerode's men and the Fifth Regiment of foot, who had been trotted up from their post below for three miles "without a halt to draw breath," arrived upon the ground, that the tide of victorious pursuit was stayed, and the Americans under orders from Washington, who did not wish to bring on a general engagement, withdrew, with a defiant cheer, to their own lines. They had met and defeated the best troops in the British army. For once the Forty-second Highlanders, the famous Black Watch who had stood with Wolfe at Quebec, and have since distinguished themselves on a hundred fields, were checked by an impetuosity equal to their own. The effect on the morale of the American army was electric and enduring. Leitch and Knowlton, mortally wounded on the field, died, and were buried with the honors of war. Washington in general orders, dated from



PLAN OF ARRANGEMENT FOR THE NIGHT OF MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1776



the Morris house, September 17, 1776 (parole Leitch, countersign Virginia), thanked the troops for their gallant conduct of the day previous, paid a grateful and merited tribute to the gallant Knowlton, and censured some inferior officers for presuming to direct in matters which had already been otherwise ordered by the commander-in-chief.

The positions held by the brigades are shown by the General Orders issued on the evening of the 16th September after the battle, prescribing the arrangements for the night upon the heights commanding the Hollow Way from the North River to the main road leading from New York to King's Bridge; General Putnam to command upon the right or North River, General McDougall in the centre, with directions to post guards upon the heights from Morris house to his camp, and proper guards, not less than twenty men from each regiment, were detailed to prevent a surprise; General Spencer on the left from McDougall's brigade to the Morris house. In case the enemy should attempt to force the pass that night, General Putnam was ordered to apply to General Spencer for a reinforcement. Thus carefully were Washington's provisions made in view of the events of the day.

One result of this success was that the Americans remained unmolested in their intrenchments, gathered at their leisure the abundant crops on the fertile plains of Harlem, and held possession of the barracks there until they retired to the White Plains in Westchester. So secure did Washington feel in his position that by general orders of the 26th September he prolonged his left flank into the Harlem Plain to the Kortright house with the left front at present 120th street and Eighth avenue. In a letter from Robert H. Harrison, of the General's staff, to the President of Congress, dated King's Bridge, October 30, 1.30 P. M., written by the direction of Washington, who was on a visit to the several posts of the army, preparing for a new line of defence, Congress is informed of the advance of the enemy by way of Frog's Neck and New Rochelle, and their intention to take their route to White Plains and thence to draw a line to the North River. His General Orders were dated from the Morris house from the 16th September until the 21st of October, on which day the last was promulgated, and may all be found in Force's Archives. (His last from New York City was dated on the 15th September, 1776.) Washington had already withdrawn the bulk of his army in the direction of White Plains on learning of General Howe's movement by way of Long Island Sound.

Landing at Frog's Neck, and subsequently at Eastchester, the British advanced inland with the evident purpose of getting into the American

rear, and thus cutting off communication with the Eastern States. A garrison was left at Fort Washington in deference to the judgment of General Greene, who commanded at Fort Lee, on the opposite side of the Hudson. Greene was of the opinion that the post was tenable, and that in case of emergency the men and stores could be brought off in safety. Washington's apprehensions were shortly justified by the result. On the 5th of November, 1776, Howe turned suddenly from North Castle, to which strong position Washington had retired after the fight at White Plains, and marched to the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry; thence he advanced rapidly toward King's Bridge and Fort Washington, which was held by Colonel Magaw and a garrison of twenty-eight hundred men. The fort was threatened and partially invested by a strong force of Hessians under Knyphausen; General Greene was still firm in his belief that the post might be held or the garrison brought off at the last moment, when it was discovered that two British frigates at anchor in Tappan Zee held command of the river.

On the 15th of November Howe summoned the garrison to surrender, a demand which was promptly rejected. On the 16th he advanced to the attack. The fort was assailed on three sides by the British, whose forces, coming from Kingsbridge, from Fort George and along the heights by way of the Morris house, converged toward it. The outposts and bastions were quickly stormed, and their defenders hastened in a disorderly crowd to the main work, which, unprovided with casemates, bomb-proofs or any adequate protection for a number so disproportioned to its capacity with which it was now thronged, and exposed to a heavy cross fire of rifles and artillery, was no longer tenable. Colonel Magaw surrendered with his men and munitions of war. This was the heaviest loss the Americans suffered during the war. As an evidence of the strong interest which Washington took in his men, and the vein of daring amounting almost to rashness, which lay beneath the surface of his self-contained and undemonstrative character, reference may here be made to the narrative of Graydon, who in his memoirs says: "After the enemy had taken possession of the first American line things remained quiet for an hour or two. In this interval General Washington, with Generals Greene, Putnam, Mercer and other principal officers, came over the North River from Fort Lee, and crossed the island to the Morris house, whence they viewed the position of our troops and the operations of the enemy in that quarter. It is a fact not generally known, that the British troops took possession of the very spot on which the

commander-in-chief and the general officers with him had stood in fifteen minutes after they left it. In this statement Graydon is supported by Greene in his letter to Putnam of the 17th November. He says: "As we stepped on board the boat the enemy made their appearance on the hill, where the Monday action was" (16th Sept., 1776). "The enemy came up the Harlem River and landed a party at headquarters (Morris House), which was upon the back of our people in the lines." This was Washington's last visit to the Morris house during the war. His next was made after the peace, when he was President of the United States.

It was actuated by no feelings of idle curiosity that the writer, in company with the editor of this Magazine and the artist whose illustration accompanies this article, climbed the hill at Fort Lee, and from the lofty eminence of the Palisades looked across the river to the scene of the historic events now presented. The slope of Vandewater's heights, where every stone and tree stood out distinctly in the clear light of an autumn day lay below; the Holloway between it and Point of Rocks is unchanged in its general features; to the northward lies the low rocky projection of Fort Washington point, near which are still visible the remains of the redoubt which guarded the landing place on the river. The fort itself was long since leveled to make room for streets and mansions; but the hill-slopes are covered with the verdure of a forest which has replaced that so long ago sacrificed to the exigencies of war, while the smoke from swift-moving engines and peaceful factories drifts among the tree-tops, a welcome substitute for the sulphurous canopy which hung over the landscape, where Washington and his Generals, from the very elevation on which we stood, witnessed the surrender of the fort, of which General Greene says: "I feel mad, vexed, sick, and sorry." The investigations of Mr. Edward de Lancey (Magazine, I. 81) brought to light an excuse for the mortified General, in the proof that treason had quite as much to do with its capture as British courage.

With the capture of Fort Washington the whole island fell into the possession of the British. The Hessian mercenaries, whom the Elector of Hesse-Cassel hired to King George III., were encamped on the heights of Harlem; and General Knyphausen, their commander, occupied the Morris house as his headquarters, and it continued to be so used by the British and Hessians until the evacuation of the island on the 25th of November, 1783.

Notwithstanding the various uses to which the building had been subjected by the exigencies of war, it still remained a desirable residence. For a time after the revolution it was occupied by Dr. Isaac

Ledyard, a distinguished patriot, but in June, 1785, it passed into other hands, and became a house of public entertainment. Talmage Hall, who the same year undertook the eastern line of stages from New York to Boston, starting from the old City Tavern, at the corner of Broadway and Thames street, opened the Morris House as the first stopping place on the route, and asked besides for the patronage of parties from town. He describes the building as an elegant house, and dwells particularly on the advantages of the octagon room, a rear extension, which still remains, as "very happily calculated for a turtle party," and otherwise desirable for transient visitors, as well as permanent boarders. The later history of this celebrated mansion, and a recital of the romantic incidents which cluster about it, would fill a volume, and must be left to another pen.

The act of attainder passed by the Legislature of the State of New York in 1779, included among those named Colonel Roger Morris and Mary, his wife. Upon the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, it became operative, and was enforced with rigor. Colonel Morris' plate and furniture were sold in the city of New York in 1793; the Morris house, with its adjacent demesne, was sold, under the direction of the Commissioners of Forfeiture, in 1779, and passed out of the possession of his family. In consequence of his fidelity to the Crown, Colonel Morris received a compensation for his losses.

It is not proposed to enter into the complications which arose in regard to the confiscation of the estate of the Philipsburg heiress, as the result of a secret anti-nuptial settlement. The rights of their heirs were purchased by John Jacob Astor, who realized from the State the handsome sum of \$500,000. The Morris house passed through several hands, and finally became the property of Stephen Jumel, an eccentric French merchant, in whose possession it remained until his death. He devised the estate to his widow, who is reputed to have married Aaron Burr. Since her decease the property has been the subject of prolonged and harrassing litigation. To-day it is held by one of her descendants.

The issue of the marriage of Col. Roger Morris and Mary Phillipse were: Amherst, born 1763, who entered the Royal Navy, where he attained the rank of Commander, and died unmarried April 29, 1802; Henry Gage, of York, and afterward of Beverly, also entered the navy and became a Rear-Admiral; Joanna, who married Thomas Couper Hincks, and Maria, who died unmarried September 25, 1836.

When the British evacuated the City of New York Colonel Morris and

his wife went to England, where they resided during the remainder of their lives. Colonel Morris died on the 13th of September, 1794, at the age of sixty-seven; his wife, who survived him for many years, died on the 18th day of July, 1825, at the advanced age of ninety-six years. After her death the long dormant question of the Attainder Act of 1779, so far as its operation affected the rights of her children, came before the Courts for adjudication.

Washington in his diary, written after his election to the Presidency, mentions one later visit to this scene of his military life. This is his entry:

*"Saturday, 10th July, 1790—*Having formed a party, consisting of the Vice President, his lady & son & Miss Smith, the Secretary of State, Treasury & War, & the ladies of the two latter; with all the gentlemen of my family, Mrs. Lear and the two children, we visited the old position of Fort Washington, and afterwards dined on a dinner provided by Mr. Marriner at the house lately of Col. Roger Morris, but confiscated & in the occupation of a common farmer."

Marriner was a celebrated host of the patriots, who had a public house in New York before the war, later kept a tavern at Harlem, noted for many curious incidents. On this occasion he sent the dinner to the hill which the President was visiting.

The main features of Manhattan Island above the Hollow Way remain to a great extent unchanged by the march of improvement, that modern iconoclast which ruthlessly sweeps from its path all things, however venerable by time or association, which have ceased to be available for utilitarian purposes. The projecting extremity of the Point of Rocks, where the Continental advanced guard kept watch and ward over the smiling plain beneath, has vanished before the potent breath of giant-powder; a stately boulevard passes over its former site. Where the Kingsbridge road climbed the long hill from the plains beneath, the serpentine course of St. Nicholas avenue gives easy access to the plateau above. Yet the inquiring eye of the lover of history, versed in local lore, may still discern some of the outlines of the breast-works at which their fathers toiled in that long-ago autumn; and the elevated railroad, last and most audacious feat of the modern engineer, newest harbinger of New York growth, to-day carries its thousand visitors, who to-morrow will be daily passengers, to the very foot of the lawn which was once trod by the majestic form of Washington.

Above Tubby Hook there is even less change; with the exception of a few residences along the front overlooking the Hudson, the country



presents the same features now as then. The Blue Bell tavern, the roadside inn where Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, riding into town from his country home, first heard of the suicide of Sir Danvers Osborne but a few hours arrived to his new government; where Hessian soldiers caroused for many a weary year; to which Washington turned his longing eye from the heights of Westchester on his famous reconnoissance in the summer of 1781, and at whose homely door he is reported to have halted on his triumphant entry into New York in 1783, stood until May, 1876, on the west side of the road, near the lane which leads into the Bennett grounds.

Fort Washington, in the original survey of which Lossing, in his admirable Field book, says Washington himself assisted on the 7th June, 1776, was not seriously commenced until the 9th August of the same year, when it was ordered by a council of officers at the earnest solicitation of General Putnam. It was a five-sided earthwork, without casemates or bomb-proofs. Its name was changed after its capture by the British to Fort Knyphausen, which it retained during the war. The outlines are now hardly visible.

The location of the White House, to which Washington alludes in his general orders, and which in his journal published in the present number of the Magazine he also designates by the name of Morris' White House, is not precisely known. It no doubt was a building on the Morris estate. From Washington's description, it appears to have been between the main house and the fort above.

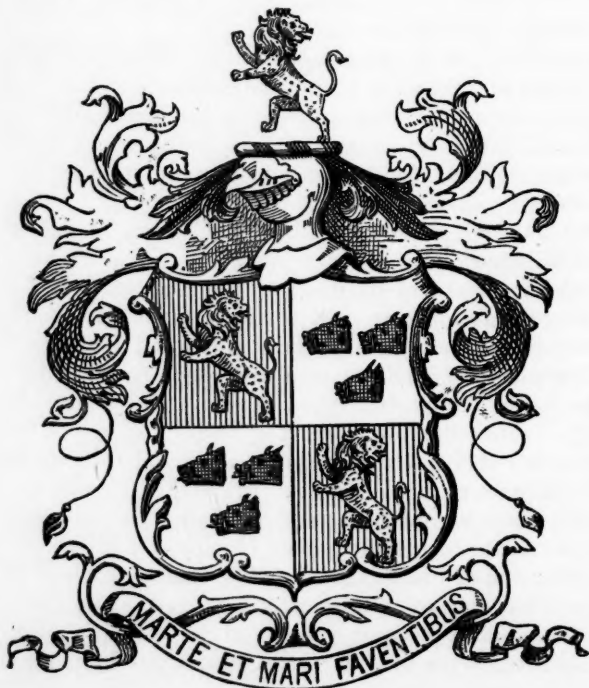
A little building, now known as the Century House, the front of which the Kingsbridge road once passed, may now be found some distance to the eastward of its present line near Harlem Creek, and is used as a river-side hostelry. At the foot of a blind wood road, which winds through the valley that intersects Inwood Heights, is a very old wooden building, which local tradition dates back to the revolution, called the Spring-house, from the clear stream of water which bubbles up from the foot of the hill, under the shadow of which it is situated. Banks of oyster shells bear witness to the good taste of the Hessians who camped in its vicinity. Bullets, grape-shot, time-worn belt-plates, buttons and rusty bayonets may still be found by the careful seeker of such relics. Knowlton, Leitch and Henley, all of whom gave their lives for their country in this memorable campaign, sleep in unknown and unmarked graves upon this historic ground, while the grand highway of the stateliest pleasure ground of the world is grimly guarded by the colossal images of alien forms monstrous in perennial bronze;

gaunt shapes haunt the pathways and peer through the vistas of the shrubbery; and high above all towers the apochryphal form of an epicene angel. A careless people forgets its heroes and martyrs, and over the very ground which holds the sacred dust raises images to gratify ephemeral vanity, satisfy vaulting ambition and pander to the lust of greed.

WILSON CARY SMITH

NOTE—Force's Archives, Fifth Series, Vol. II., 607, gives a "Return of Brigades under the more immediate Command of His Excellency George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army in the service of the United States of America. Harlem Heights, Head Quarters, September 30 1776." The number of rank and file, present and fit for duty, is here given by brigades.

General Parsons's, 883; General Clinton's, 1130; General Scott's, 608; Commandant Sargent's, 559; Commandant Hands's, 915; General Nixon's, 1067; General Wadsworth's, 1469; General McDougall's, 1052; General Heard's, 983; Commandant Glover's, 864; General Fellows' 892; General Bedle's, 1573; General Mifflin's, 1631; Reed's, Weedon's and Chester's Regiments, 1011; Light Horse, 122, TOTAL, 14,759. The total on the muster rolls, including sick, absent on command and on furlough, 25,802.





G. W. H. H. H.

## Journal

May — 1781.

I began, at this epoch, a concise  
Journal of Military transactions — de-  
lament her having attempted it from the  
commencement of the War, in aid of my  
memory — and avoid the multiplicity of mat-  
ters which continually surround me — and  
the embarrassed state of our affairs which  
is momentarily calling the attention to per-  
plexities of one kind or another, may  
not degenerate altogether or so interrupt my  
present intention, a plan, as to render it  
of little avail. —

## WASHINGTON'S GENERAL ORDERS

HEAD QUARTERS—ROGER MORRIS HOUSE

September 16 to October 21

1776

EXTRACTS RELATING TO POSITIONS AND LOCALITIES.

*From Force's American Archives*

*Sep 16—Arrangement for this night.* The arrangement for this Night upon the heights commanding the hollow Way from the North River to the Main Road leading from New York to Kingsbridge—General Clinton to form next to the North River, and extend to the left. Genl Scott's Brigade next to Gen Clinton's. Lieutenant Colonel Sayers of Colonel Griffith's Regiment, with the three companies intended for a reinforcement to-day, to form upon the left of Scott's Brigade. General Nixon's, Colonel Sargent's divisions, Colonel Weedon's and Major Price's Regiments are to retire to their quarters and report themselves; but to hold themselves in readiness to turn out at a minute's warning—General McDougall to establish proper guards against his brigade upon the heights, and every regiment posted upon the heights from Morris' house to General McDougall's camp, to furnish proper guards to prevent a surprise, not less than twenty men from each Regiment, Gen Putnam commands upon the right flank to night. Gen Spencer from McDougall's Brigade up to Morris House. Should the Enemy attempt to force the pass to-night, Gen Putnam is to apply to Gen Spencer for a reinforcement. (p. 381)

*Sep 18—General Parsons's, General Scott's and Colonel Sargent's Brigades are to march over King's Bridge and take General Heath's orders for encamping.* Colonels Shee, Magaw, Haslett and the Regiment under Colonel Brodhead are to return to Mount Washington and be under the immediate care of General Mifflin.

Colonel Ward's Regiment from Connecticut may for the present be annexed to the Brigade commanded by Colonel Sargent—

Generals Mifflin's, McDougall's, Heard's, Wadsworth's and Fellow's Brigades, and the Brigades under the command of Colonels Silliman and Douglass are to have each a Regiment

in the field this evening, by Mr. Kortright's house. (p. 383)

*Sep 19—*The Companies from Maryland under command of Major Price, are to join Colonel Smallwood's Battalion and General McDougall's Brigade. \* \* \*

General Nixon with his brigade is to remove over to the Jersey, and will receive his orders from General Greene with respect to his encamping, &c. Such men of his brigade as are now on duty must be relieved.

The picket guards which are to occupy the outposts most advanced to the enemy, are to consist of eight hundred men, officered with two Colonels, two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors and Captains and subalterns in proportion. They are to be furnished by detachments from the several brigades below Kings-Bridge, and so every day till further orders. (p. 414)

*Sep 20—*The tents &c are to be sent to General Spencer's, at Mr. Kortright's house, who will cause them to be delivered to the regiments standing most in need of them, which regiments are to be answerable for them when called for.

General Greene is to appoint some careful officer at Burdett's Ferry to examine passengers and see that none come over but such as have proper passes. General Mifflin is to do the same on this side, to prevent disaffected or suspected persons from passing. If Captain Johnson and the other gentlemen who were employed in this business at New York incline to engage in it again, they are to have the preference given them— (p. 415)

*Sep 22—*The Brigadier is to see that a chain of Sentries extend from the North River to Harlem River beyond which no stragglers are to pass—

The General approves the Sentence (of death on a military offender) and orders that he be shot at head of the army on the grand parade near Kortright's house to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock. The men of the several regiments below King's Bridge not upon fatigue or guard are to march down at that hour; the Provost Marshal to attend. (p. 448)

*Sep 24—*The Quarter Master and the Chief Engineer are to mark the ground to-morrow on which the barracks and huts are to be built this side



King's Bridge— Major Henly, Aid de Camp to General Head &c—his remains will be interred this afternoon at five o'clock from the Quarters of Major David Henly, Acting Adjutant General, below the hill where the redoubt is thrown upon the road. (p. 502)

*Sep 26*—Upon any alarm or approach of the enemy towards our lines, General Mifflin with his brigade, is to possess our left flank from the Hollow way by Colonel Sargent's late encampment to the Point of Rocks, on the left front of our lines, and till the regiment commanded by Colonel Weedon is brigaded to be joined by the same. General McDougall's Brigade is to repair to the plains back of General Mifflin, and be ready to support him or the picket in front, as occasion may require. General Bell's Brigade is to repair to the lines which cross the Road by Colonel Moylan's lodging and to extend their right flank to the middle redoubt by Mr. Kortright's house, occupying the same. Generals Wadsworth and Fellows are to take the remaining part of these lines, with the redoubt therein, on the North River. These three brigades to defend these lines or wait there for orders. General Heard's is to parade, and be ready to march wherever ordered— General Putnam is to command in front of the lines by Mr. Kortright's; General Spencer in the rear of them. (p. 568)

*Sep 28*—That the approach of the enemy to the front of our lines may be communicated as speedily as possible, two field pieces are to be fired, by order of the Brigadier of the day, at the redoubts on the road by Colonel Moylan's; this to be repeated by two others at Head Quarters, and the like number at Mount Washington.

General Saltonstall is to order in four of the militia regiments under his command who are to encamp on the hill opposite to Fort Washington, towards the point opposite to the encampment on the other side Harlem River. (p. 605)

*Sep 29*—A Court Martial consisting of the following members are to meet tomorrow at ten o'clock at the White House near Head Quarters for the trial of &c. (p. 606)

*Sep 30*—A working party of twelve hundred men exclusive of those at Mount Washington to parade at the usual place at seven o'clock in the morning properly officered for the Engineers' department. Fellows' and Wadsworth's brigades to take their posts at Quartermaster Stone's quarters nigh to General Spencer's quarters (p. 606)

*October 1*—*After Orders.* The following troops to parade at five o'clock on the grand parade and there receive orders from General Putnam— Light Infantry of the Pennsylvania Battalions—General Mifflin's Brigade to furnish a Lieutenant Colonel and three hundred men, General Wadsworth's Brigade to furnish two hundred men to be commanded by Colonel Silliman. General McDougall's Brigade to furnish a Lieutenant Colonel and two hundred men. (p. 842)

*October 14*—Colonel Bailey's regiment is immediately to join General Clinton's Brigade at present under the command of General Glover—Colonel Lippett's regiment is to join General McDougall's Brigade. The brigades which will then remain on the island will be in two divisions, the first composed of Heard's Bealls and Weedon's to be under the command of Major General Putnam; the Second consisting of Lord Stirling's Wadsworth's and Fellows' to be under the command of Major General Spencer

General Putnam will attend particularly to all the works and necessary places of defence, from the line which was intended to be run across from Head Quarters inclusively, up to and including the works on the island above that place, as far as hath usually been considered as belonging to this division of the army. He will also attend particularly to the works about Mount Washington and to the obstructions in the river, which should be increased as fast as possible.

General Spencer is to take charge of all the works from Head Quarters to our front lines to the South and attend particularly to all weak places seeing they are secured as well as time and circumstances will permit. (p. 1119)

## THE WASHINGTON LETTERS

The second series of the letters of Washington, hitherto unpublished, is begun in the present number. The order of publication followed in the first series, chronological from the earliest Colonial to the last written in 1783, will be strictly conformed to. Many of those now presented have been for a long time awaiting their place in the present number under this arrangement. Those who have kindly contributed copies of their rare treasures will recognize the absolute necessity of the delay in the appositeness of their place in connection with others of the same period. Indeed one of the most satisfactory results of the collection is attained in the juxtaposition of letters brought from widely different sources and now for the first time set side by side for examination.

Many of those now presented are of unusual interest to the general reader from their connection with the earlier less known years of Washington's life, and their illustration of the growth of his character, while every line written by him during his period of active service is invaluable to students of the revolutionary period.

In accordance with the practice of the last two years the publication will be continued in August. This year the continuation will include all the letters written to General Varnum, over twenty in number, concerning the affair at Red Bank in the fall of 1777, which are in the possession of Dr. Henry E. Turner, of Newport, Rhode Island.

Numerous letters are supposed to exist in the Southern States. Washington in his Journal of 1781 makes special allusion to a number written from the Head of Elk to his friends on the Eastern Shore with appeals for aid in the transportation of his troops. It is earnestly hoped that the Southern friends of the Magazine will communicate information with regard to these.

Thanks are again tendered to those persons throughout the country who have generously aided in the prosecution of the undertaking to gather in copies of *all* the outstanding letters, and the appeal is now renewed. It is extremely desirable that the present series should be as complete as possible, as when it is closed the publication will be begun of the collection of those written after the peace; letters which have an interest and value of an entirely different character from their bearing upon a correct understanding of the early beginning of our political system.

EDITOR

## WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL

*From the Original Manuscript in the Library of  
the Department of State, at Washington*

MAY TO AUGUST, 1781

MAY

I begin at this epoch, a concise journal of military transactions, &c. I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the war, in aid of my memory—and wish the multiplicity of matters which continually surround me—and the embarrassed state of our affairs which is momentarily calling the attention to perplexities of one kind or another, may not defeat altogether, or so interrupt my present intention and plan as to render it of little avail.

To have the clearer understanding of the entries which may follow, it would be proper to recite, in detail, our wants and our prospects—but this alone would be a work of much time and great magnitude. It may suffice to give the sum of them, which I shall do in a few words,—viz.—

Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different States.— Instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided, and the workmen all leaving them.— Instead of having the various articles of Field equipage in readiness to deliver, the Quartermaster-General (as the denier resort, according to his acct) is but now applying to the several States to provide these things for their troops respectively. Instead of having a regular system of transportation upon credit,—or funds in the Quartermaster's hands

to defray the contingent Expences of it, we have neither the one nor the other; and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by military Impress, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people,—souring their tempers, and alienating their affection—Instead of having the Regiments compleated to the new establishment (and which ought to have been so by the — of — agreeable to the requisitions of Congress, scarce any state in the Union has, at this hour, an eighth part of its quota in the field—and little prospect, that I can see, of ever getting more than half.— In a word—instead of having everything in readiness to take the Field, we have nothing—and instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy defensive one—unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships—Land Troops—and money from our generous allies—& these, at present, are too contingent to build upon.

*May 1st*—Induced by pressing necessity—the inefficacy, & bad tendency of pushing Military Impresses too far—and the impracticability of keeping the army supplied without *it*, or *money*, to pay the transportation—I drew for 9000 dollars of the sum sent on by the State of Massachusetts for payment of their Troops; and placed it in the hands of the Q: M: General with the most positive orders to apply it solely to this purpose.—

Fixed with Ezekiel Cornell Esqr. a member of the Board of war (then on a tour to the Eastward to inspect some of the Armoury's &c.) on certain articles of cloathing—arms—and military stores which might be sent from hence

to supply the wants of the Southern army.—

Major Talmadge was requested to press the C—s Senr & Junr to continue their correspondence—and was authorized to assure the elder C— that he should be repaid the sum of 100 Guineas, or more, with interest; provided he advanced the same for the purpose of defraying the expence of the correspondence, as he had offered to do.—

Colo. Dayton was also written to, and pressed to establish a correspondence with New York by way of Elizabethtown for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of the Enemy's movemts. and designs; that by a comparison of accts, proper & just conclusions may be drawn.—

*May 2d*—No occurrence of note.—a very fresh and steady gale of wind all day from the So. East.—upon its shifting (about dusk) it blew violently, & continued boisterous through the night or greatest part of it.—

*May 4th*—A letter of the Baron de Steuben's from Chesterfield Court House. Virga. dated the 21st ulto. informs that 12 of the Enemy's vessels but with what Troops he knew not, had advanced up James River as high as Jamestown.—that few militia were in arms—and few arms to put into their hands.—that he had moved the public stores from Richmond &c into the interior country.—

A letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette, dated at Alexandria on the 23d, mentioned his having commenced his march that day for Fredericksburg—that desertion had ceased, & that his detachment were in good spirits.

*May 5th*—Accounts from Brigadr

Genl. Clinton at Albany, dated the 30th ulto. & 1st Inst't, filled me with anxious fears that the Garrison of fort Schuyler would be obliged to evacuate the Post for want of Provisions—and that a mutiny in the other Troops was to be apprehended—In consequence of this alarming piece of information, I directed the Q M. Gl to send 50 Barls. of flour & the like qty. of salted meat imm'y up, for the Garrison of Fort Schuyler—but of the latter there being only 24 in store, no more could be sent.—

*May 6th*—Colo. Menonville, one of the adjut. Generals in the French army came to Head Quarters by order of Count de Rochambeau to make arrangements for supplying the Troops of His most Christian Majesty with certain provisions contracted for by Doctr. Franklin—This demand, tho' the immediate compliance with it, was not insisted upon, comports illy with our circumstances; & it is exceedingly embarrassing.—

The D Q Mr. at Sussex Ct House conceiving that the Provision Magazine & other stores at that place were exposed to a surprize, and in danger of being destroyed by the Indians & Tories who were infesting the settlement at Minisink, I directed Colo. Dayton to send a guard there from the Jersey Brigade near Morristown.—

Mr. John Flood (at present a liver at lower Salem) whom I had sent for to obtain from him an acct. of the Harbours in the sound from Frogs point Eastward, arrived; and gave the information wch. is filed in my office.

Other letters arriving this evening late (more expressive of the wants of the York Troops at Albany, & the Posts

above.) I ordered 100, out of 131 Barrels of Flour which were in store, to be immediately sent up; & again called upon the Q M Genl in the most pointed terms to send active men to forward on, by every means they could devise, the salted provn in Connecticut; & flour from Sussex Ct Ho. &c.

That the states might not only know our wants, which my repeated & pressing letters had recently, & often communicated, but, if possible, be impressed with them and adopt some mode of transporting it to the army, I resolved to send Genl. Heath (2d offir. in commd) to make to the respective legislatures East of York state, pointed representation; & to declare explicitly that unless measures are adopted to supply transportation, it will be impossible to subsist & keep the troops together.

*May 7th*—The wind which blew with great force from the So. East the last two days was accompanied this day by incessant rain and was a most violent storm.—& is supposed to have done damage to ships on the coast.

*May 9th*—Went to the Posts at West Point, and found by enquiry of General Heath that all the meal (meat?) deposited in the advanced redoubts for contingent purposes would not, if served out, serve the army two days—that the Troops had drawn none that day—& that none remained in the common Magazine.

*May 10th*—The Q M Genl representing that it was not in his power to get the salt meat of Connecticut transported—even for the money that was put into his hands for this purpose—the people now alledging that they had no forage—

when the badness of the roads was an excuse when they were called upon by the Executive of their state in the month of March—and that nothing but military force could effect the transport for our present wants. Parties were ordered out accordingly and the officers commanding them directed to receive their Instructions from him.

*May 11th*—Major Genl. Heath set out this day for the Eastn. States, provided with Instructions, and letters couched in strong terms—representing the distresses of the army for want of provisions and the indispensable necessity of keeping up regular supplies by the adoption of a plan which will have system and permanency in't—

This day also I received advice from Colo Dayton that 10 ships of the line, and 3 or 4000 Troops had sailed from New York.—the intelligence was immediately communicated to Congress, and to the French Genl. & admiral at R Isld.

*May 12th*—Colo. Dayton's intelligence, so far as respected the sailing of Troops, was confirmed by two sensible deserters from Kings bridge; which place they left yesterday morning at two o'clock—they add the detachment consisted of the Grenadrs (Bh)—the corps of Anspach (two Battalions) & the 37th & 43d British regiments, amounting, as is supposed, to about 2000 men under the command of Majr Genl. Redeisel.—

*May 13th*—Received letters from Count de Rochambeau advising me of the arrival of his son—& from Count de Barras informing me of his appointment to the Command of the French squadron at Rhode Island—both soliciting an Interview with me as soon as possible—



appointed in answer, Monday the 21st inst. & Wethersfield, as the time & place of meeting.

*May 14th*—About noon intelligence was recd. from Genl. Patterson at West Point, that the Enemy were on the No. Side of Croton in force—that Colo. Green, Majr. Flag, and some other officers with 40 or 50 men were surprized & cut off at the Bridge — & that Colo. Scammell with the New Hampshire Troops had marched to their assistance—I ordered the Connecticut Troops to move on & support those of New Hampshire— In the evening, information was brot. that the Enemy (consisting of about 60 horse, & 140 Infantry) had retreated precipitately—and that several of our soldiers had been inhumanly murdered.—

*May 15th* — Information dated 12 o'clock yesterday reports 15 sail of vessels & a number of Flat boats to be off Fort Lee.—ordered a detachment of 200 men to march immediately to support the Post at Dobbs's ferry—countenance the militia, & cover the country in that neighbourhood—

Intelligence from C—Senr., dated 729— a detachment is expected to sail to-morrow from New York, and said to consist of the Anspach Troops—43d B. Regiment, remainder of the 76th.—80th, 17th Dragoons, & Infantry of the same—to be conveyed by 7 ships of the line, 2 fifties & 3 forty fours which are to cruize of the Capes of Virginia.—He gives it as the opinion of C—Junr. that the above detachment does not exceed 2000 men—that not more than 4000 remain—wch is only (he adds) to be accounted for on the supposition of their expecting a reinforcement immediately from Europe.

*May 16th*—Went to the Posts at West Point—received a particular acct. of the surprize of Colo Green & the loss we sustained which consisted of himself & Major (Flag) killed—three officers & a surgeon taken prisoners (the latter & two of the former wounded)—a sergeant & 5 R & F. killed—5 left wounded—& 33 made prisoners & missing—in all 44 besides officers—

The report of the number of shipping &ca at Fort Lee was this day contradicted in part—the number of vessels being reduced, & said to be no higher than Bulls-ferry—in consequence of this intelligence Lt. Col Badlam who marched with the detachment of 200 men pursuant to the orders of yesterday & had reached Stony point halted—but was directed not to return till the designs of the enemy were better understood.

*May 17th*—Received a letter from Captn Lawrence, near Dobbs's ferry, informing me that abt. 200 Refugees were building a block house & raising other works at Fort Lee.—order'd the detachment which had halted at Kings Ferry & another forming under Colo. Scammel to advance down & endeavor to annoy if they could not prevent them.

A Letter from Genl. Foreman of Monmouth (dated the 14th Inst) informs me that the British fleet from New York consisting of seven ships of 60 Guns & upwards—12 large Transport vessels, & 10 top sail schooners & sloops made sail from Sandy hook the 12th, with the wind at So. East.—but veering round to the southward, & westward, it returned within the hook and lay there till 10 o'clock next day when it again sailed—by two

o'clock it was clear of the hook—and steering southward.—

*May 18th*—Received letters from Generals Schuyler and Clinton giving an acct. of the threatened Invasion of the Northern Frontier of this State from Canada, and of the unfavourable prospects from Vermont.—and of the destruction of the Post of Fort Schuyler—the indefensible state of the works occasioned thereby—and submitting for considn the propriety of removing the Garrison to the German Flatts which he (that is Clinton) was requested to do if it appear'd to be the sense of the Governor & other principal Gentn of the State that it would be eligible.

Set out this day for the Interview at Weathersfield with the Count de Rochambeau & Admiral Barras.—reached Morgans Tavern 43 miles from Fishkill Landing after dining at Colo. Vandebargs.—

*May 19th*—Breakfasted at Litchfield—dined at Farmington — & lodged at Weathersfield at the House of Joseph Webb Esqr. (the Quarters wch were taken for me and my suit.—

*May 20th*—Had a good deal of private conversation with Govr Trumbull who gave it to me as his opinion that if any important offensive operation should be undertaken he had little doubt of our obtaining Men & Provision adequate to our wants.—In this opinion Colo. Wadsworth & others concurr'd.

*May 21st*—The Count de Rochambeau with the Chevr de Chastellux arrived about noon — the appearance of the British Fleet (under Adml Arbuthnot) off Block Island prevented the attendance of the Count de Barras.

*May 22d*—Fixed with Count de Rochambeau upon a plan of Campaign—in substance as follows—That the French Land force (except 200 men) should march so soon as the Squadron could sail for Boston—to the North River—and there, in conjunction with the American, to commence an operation against New York (which in the present reduced state of the Garrison it was thought would fall, unless relieved; the doing which wd enfeeble their Southern operations, and in either case be productive of capital advantages) or to extend our views to the Southward as circumstances and a naval superiority might render more necessary and eligible.—The aid which would be given to such an operation in this quarter—the tardiness with which the Regiments would be filled for any other.—the insurmountable difficulty & expence of Land transportation—the waste of men in long marches (especially where there is a disinclination to the Service—Objections to the climate &ca) with other reasons too numerous to detail, induced to this opinion.—The heavy stores & Baggage of the French army were to be deposited at Providence under Guard of 200 men (before mentioned)—& Newport Harbour & Works were to be secured by 500 militia.—

*May 23d*—Count de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, while I prepared and forwarded dispatches to the Governors of the four New England states calling upon them in earnest & pointed terms, to compleat their Continental Battalions for the Campaign, at least, if it could not be done for the war or 3 years—to hold a body of militia (according to the Proportion given them)

ready to march in one week after being called for—and to adopt some effectual mode to supply the Troops when assembled with Provisn. & Transportation.

I also solicited the Governors of the States of Massachusetts & Connecticut earnestly for a Loan of Powder & the means of Transporting it to the Army.

A Letter from Genl. St. Clair came to hand with accts. of an apparent intention of the enemy to evacuate New York.

*May 24th*—Set out on my return to New Windsor—dined at Farmington and lodged at Litchfield

*May 25th*—Breakfasted at Squire Cogswells—dined at Colo. Vandeburgs & reached head Quarters about sunset where I found letters from Generls. Schuyler & Clinton full of uncertain information respecting the enemys landing at Crown point & intention to penetrate on the Hudson & Mohawk Rivers.—this uncertainty respects the number, not the fact—the latter seeming to be beyond a doubt—In consequence of this information I ordered the Companies of Van-Scaicks Regiment at West point to hold themselves in readiness to move at an hour's warning.

*May 26th*—Received a Letter from the Honble Jno. Laurens minister from the United States of America at the Court Versailles—informing me that the sum of 6,000,000 of Livres was granted as a donation to this country—to be applied in part to the purchase of arms—cloaths—&c for the American Troops and the ballance to my orders. & draughts at long sight.—and that a Fleet of 20 Sail of the Line was on its departure for the West Indies 12 of which were to proceed to

this Coast where it was probable they might arrive in the month of July.—He also added that the Courts of Petersburg & Vienna had offered their mediation in settling the present troubles wch. the King of France, tho' personally pleased with, could not accept without consulting his allies.—A Letter from Doctr. Lee inclosing extracts from his Brother Wm. Lee Esqr. dated the 20th of Feby holds out strong assurances of Peace being restored in the course of this yr.

*May 28th*—The commanding officer of artillery—& the chief Engineer were called upon to give in estimates of their wants for the intended operation against New York.—The intention of doing this was also disclosed to the Q M General who was desired to give every attention toward the Boats, that a number of them might be prepared; & provide other matters necessary to such an undertaking—especially those things which might be called for by the Artillery, & the Engineering departments.

*May 31st*—A Letter from Count de Rochambeau informed me that the British fleet had left Block Island.—that Adml. de Barras would sail with the first fair wind for Boston (having 900 of his soldiers on Board to man his fleet)—and that he should commence his march as soon as possible but would be under the necessity of Halting a few days at Providence—

A Letter from Major Talmage, inclosing one from C. Senr. & another from S. G. dated the 27th. were totally silent on the subject of an evacuation of New York; but speak of an order for marching the Troops from Long Island—and the Countermand of it after they had

commenced their march; the cause for either they could not assign—Neither C. Senr. nor S G, estimate the enemys regular force at New York & its dependencies at more than 4500 men including the new Levies; but C— says it is reported that they can command five & some add 6,000 militia & refugees.—S. G. disposes of the Enemys force as follows.—

At Fort Washington & towards	} Regts	
New York—2 Hessn. Regts..		2
Laurel Hill—Fort George	} 57th	
B .....		1
Haerlam — at a place called	} 38 D.	
Laurel Hill.....		1
At Hornes hook & towds. the	} city—22d & 42d B: Regts..	
city—22d & 42d B: Regts..		2
In the city Hessian Regim....		2
On Staten Island.....		2
Total on this Isld. 1200		
On Long Island.....		
1st B Grenadrs, New Town.		1
2d. Ditto.... Jamaica.....		1
Worms Hessian Yagers		
(called by him 6 or 700) No.	} side of the Plains.....	
		1
Light Dragns. 17th Regt. at	} Hempstead Plains.....	
		1
Loyds neck—detachmts. from		—
New Corps abt. 6 or 700....		14

The detachment which left Sandy hook the 13th Inst. according to S. G.s acct.—consisted of the Troops on the other side—though it is thought he must be mistaken in naming the 46th & 86th Regimts.—the first of them being a Convention Regimt. and the other not in America.—By accts. from Deserters the 37th Regt. went with the detachment and must be in place of the 46th as the 80th must be in that of the 86th.—

Suppos'd.

43 British Regiment.....	300
Anspach. 2 Battalions.....	700
Part of the 86th.....	150
Part of the 46th.....	150
Hessian Yagers—abt.....	150

JUNE

1450

*June 1st*—Received Letters from Generals Schuyler & Clinton, containing further, but still indistinct accts. of the enemys force at Crown point.—

Letters from Doctr. Smith of Albany, & ——— Shepherd principal armourer at that place, were intercepted, giving to the enemy with acct. of our distresses, the strength and disposition of our Troops—The disaffection of particular settlements—the provision these settlements had made to subsist them—their readiness to join—the genl. temper of the people.—and their earnest wishes for their advance in force—assuring them of the happy consequences which would derive to the Kings arms if they would move rapidly to Albany.— In consequence of this information I directed the Q M. General to provide craft for, and the 6 Companies of Van Scaicks Regiment and Hazens to proceed immediately to Albany; and put themselves under General Clintons orders.—

*June 4th*—Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette of the 25th ulto. informs that Lord Cornwallis had formed a junction with Arnold at Petersbourg—that with their united force he had marched to City point on James River—and that the detachment which sailed from New York the 13th of May had arrived in James River and were debarking at

Westover.—and that he himself had removed from Wilton to Richmond.

The Duke de Lauzen arrived this afternoon with Letters from Count de Rochambeau and Admiral Count de Barras, with the proceedings of a council of war held on Board the Duke de Burgogne proposing to continue the Fleet at Rhode Island under the protection of 400 French Troops & 1000 Militia in preference to the plan adopted at Weathersfield; requiring my opinion thereon which was given to this effect—that I conceived the first plan gave a more perfect security to the Kings fleet than the latter, and consequently left the Land force more at liberty to act, for which reason I could not change my former opinion but shou'd readily acquiesce to theirs if upon a re-consideration of the matter they adhered to it—accordingly, that delay might be avoided, I enclosed letters (under flying seals) to the Governors of Rd: Island & Massachusetts to be made use of or not, requesting the militia; and pressed the march of the Land Troops as soon as circumstances would admit of it.—

*June 5th*—Governor Rutledge of South Carolina came to Head Qrs with representations of the situation of southern affairs, and to solicit aids—I communicated the plan of campaign to him—and candidly exposed the true state of our circumstances which convinced him—or seemed to do so—that no relief cd. be given from this army till we had acquired a naval superiority and cd. transport Troops by Water.—

*June 7th*—A Letter from the Govr. of Virginia dated at Charlottesville the 28th ulto. representing the distressed

state of Virginia & pressing my repairing thither, was received—other letters (but not official) speak of Lord Cornwallis's advance to Hanover Court House—that the Marquis was retreating before him towards Fredericksburg—and that General Leslie was embarked in James River about 1200 men destined, as was supposed, to Alexandria whither it was conjectured by the letter writers Lord Cornwallis was pointing his march.—

Accts. from Pittsburg were expressive of much apprehension for that quarter as a force from Canada was expected thither by way of the Lakes and the Alligany River.

A Letter from the Executive of Pennsylvania afforded little hope of assistance in the article of Provision or other things, from that state.—and was more productive of what they had done, than what they meant to do.—

*June 9th*—A Capt. Randolph—sent by General Clarke from Pittsburg, arrived here with letters & representations of his disappointments of men, and the prospect of failure in his intended Expedition against Detroit unless he could be aided by the 9th Virginia Regiment & Heths company at Pittsburg—but the weakness of the Garrison & other considerations would not admit this—nor did it appear to me that this reinforcement would enable him to undertake & prosecute the Plan.

*June 11th*—Received Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette containing information of Lord Cornwallis's movements from Westover. and that, at the date of his letter—the 3d Inst.—he had advanced to the North Anna.—but his design was not sufficiently understood—



supposed Fredericksburg.—The Marqs. was retreating before him with abt. 3000 men Militia included—the Enemy's force exclusive of Leslie's detachment being estimated at five or 6000 men. 600 of wch were Horse.

*June 13th*—To facilitate the building, and repairing of Boats, a number of Carpenters was ordered from the line of the army to the Q. M. G: to aid the artificers of his department in this important business.—and Major Darby with a Captain 5 subs—6 Sergts. and 100 Rank and file were drawn from the army in order to collect and take care of ye public Boats.

*June 14th*—Received agreeable accts. from General Greene of his successes in South Carolina—viz—that Lord Rawdon had abandoned Cambden with precipitation, leaving all our wounded taken in the action of the 25th of April last, together with 58 of his own too bad to remove.—that he had destroy'd his own stores—burnt many buildings and in short left the Town little better than a heap of Rubbish—That Orangeburg, Forts McH. & Granby, had surrendered; their Garrisons including officers consisting of near 700 men—That ninety six & Fort Augusta were invested—that he was preparing to march to the Former—and that, Lord Rawdon was at Nelsons ferry removing the stores from that place which indicated an Evacuation thereof.—

*June 16th*—Directed that no more Invalids be transferred till further orders.—that a detachment be formed of the weakest men for garrisoning West point and that a camp be marked out by the Chief Engineer and Q M Genl

near Peekskill to assemble the Troops on.—

*June 18th*—Brigaded the Troops, and made an arrangement of the army, which is to march for the new Camp in three divisions—the 1st on Thursday the 21st.—the 2d on the 23d.—and the 3d on the 24th. inst.

To strengthen the detachment intended for the garrison of West point, I had previously called upon the State of Connecticut for 800 militia.

*June 20th*—Rec—d. Letters from Genl. Clinton at Albany inclosing the examination of two Prisoners taken at Crown point by wch. and other intelligence it appears that no Troops had landed at that place and that the enemys shipping *only*, had ever been there—In consequence, the Continental Troops to the No. ward were ordered to be in readiness to join the army on the shortest notice and Governor Clinton informed thereof that the new levies of the State and nine months men might be hastened to relieve them.—

*June 24th*—A Letter from the Count de Rochambeau, dated at Windham the 20th. advises me of his having reached that Town, that day, with the first division of his army—that the other 3 divisions were following in regular succession—that he expected to Halt the Troops two days at Hartford, but would come on to my camp from that place after the arrival of the division with which he was.

By a Letter from Govr. Trumbull it appear'd that the assembly of Connecticut had passed some salutary Laws for filling their Battalions & complying with my requisitions—but it is to be feared

that their list of deficiencies, which the respective towns are called upon to make good by drafts to compleat the Battalions is short of the number wanting for this purpose.

*June 25th*—a letter from Genl. Heath of the 18th. holds up favourable Ideas of the disposition prevailing in the State of Massachusetts Bay to comply with everything required of them. Joined the army at its Encampment at Peekskill—Mrs. Washington set out at the same time towards Virginia—but with an intention to Halt at Philadelphia if from information & circumstances it was not likely she should remain quietly at Mt. Vernon. a Letter from Count de Rochambeau informs me that he shall be with his first division at Newtown on the 28th. where he purposed to assemble his force & march in Brigades while the Duke de Lauzens Legion continued to move on his Left flank.

Had an interview with Govr. Clinton, Lieut. Govr. Courtlandt & Generals Schuyler & Tenbrook; in which I pressed the necessity of my recalling the Continental Regiments from Albany, & the Posts above & of the States hastening up their levies for 3 years and nine months—and agreed to order 600 militia (part of the quota required of Massachusetts bay) from the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to march immediately to Albany which was accordingly done & Govr. Hancock advised of it.—

Genl Stark was directed to repair to Saratoga & take command of the Troops on the Northern & Western frontier—and Genl. Clinton called upon in pointed terms to have the Continental Troops under his command in the most perfect

readiness to join the Army.—rec a Letter from the Minister of France advising me of the arrival of between 3 & 4000 Troops abt. the 4th Inst. at Charles Town—that 2000 of them had debarked & that the rest were said to be destined for St. Augustine & New York.—that George Town was evacuated—and the enemy in Charlestown weak (not exceeding 450 men before the reinforcement arrived—which latter must be a mistake, as the Ministers informant added, that Lord Rawden had got there after a precipitate retreat from a Post above—and that the American parties were within 5 miles of the Town.—Lord Rawdens Troops alone amounted to more than the number here mentioned)

Having suggested to the Count de Rochambeau the advantages which might be derived to the common cause in general—and the Southern States in particular, if by arming the Fantasque & bringing the 50 gun ship to Rhode Isld. (which then lay at Boston) the fleet of his most Christian Majesty at Newport could appear in Chesapeak bay I received an answer from the French Admiral through the General that he was disposed to the measure provided he could obtain a loan of the French Guard (of 400 men which were left at Newport & which were granted) and 4 pieces of heavy artillery at Brentons point which the Count could not spare—but that the fleet could not be ready to sail under 20 days from the date of his letter (the 21st)—thus, uncertain, the matter stands.

*June 28th*—Having determined to surprise the Enemy's Posts at the No. end of Yk. Island, if the prospt. of success continued favourable, & having fixed

upon the Night of the 2d. of July for this purpose.—and having moreover combined with it an attempt to cut off Delancy's and other light Corps without Kingsbridge and fixed upon Genl. Lincoln to command the first detachment & the Duke de Lauzen the 2d. everything was put in train for it and the Count de Rochambeau requested to file off from Ridgebury to Bedford & hasten his march—while the Duke de Lauzen was to do the same & to assemble his command (which was to consist of abt. 3 or 400 Connecticut State Troops under the command of Genl. Waterbury—abt. 100 York Troops under Capt. Sacket—Sheldens Legion of 200, and his own proper Corps.)—Genl. Lincolns command was to consist of Scammells light Troops and other detachments to the amount of 800 Rank & file properly officered—150 Wartenmen—and 60 Artillerists.

*June 29th*—Recd a letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette informing me that Lord Cornwallis after having attempted to surprize the Virginia Assembly at Charlottesville and destroy some stores at the Forks of James River, in which he succeeded partially had returned to Richmond without having effected any valuable purpose by his manœuvres in Virginia.—In a private letter he complains heavily of the conduct of the Baron de Steuben whom he observes has rendered himself extremely obnoxious in Virg.

#### JULY

*July 2d*—Genl. Lincoln's detachment embarked last night after dark at or near Tellar's point; and as his operations were to be the movement of two nights he was desired to repair to Fort Lee this

day and reconnoitre the enemy's works.—Position and strength as well as he possibly could & take his ultimate determination from appearances—that is—to attempt the surprize if the prospect was favourable—or to relinquish it if it was not, and in the latter case to land above the mouth of Spiken devil & cover the Duke in his operation on Delancys Corps.

At three o'clock this morning I commenced my march with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached Troops—and improve any advantages which might be gained by them—made a small halt at the New bridge over Croton abt. 9 miles from Peekskill—another at the Church by Tarry Town till Dusk (9 miles more) and completed the remaining part of the march in the night—arriving at Valentines Hill (at Mile square) about sunrise.

Our Baggage & Tents were left standing at the Camp at Peekskill.

*July 3d*—The length of Duke Lauzens march & the fatigue of his Corps, prevented his coming to the point of action at the hour appointed.

In the meantime Genl. Lincolns Party who were ordered to prevent the retreat of Delancy's Corps by the way of Kgs Bridge & prevent success by that route were attacked by the Yagers and others—but on the march of the Army from Valentines Hill retired to the Island.—Being disappointed in both objects from the causes mentioned I did not care to fatigue the Troops any more but suffered them to remain on their arms while I spent good part of the day in reconnoitering the Enemys works.—In the afternoon we retired to Valentines Hill

& lay upon our arms—Duke Lauzen & Waterbury lay on the East side of the Brunx river on the East Chester road.—Our loss in this days skirmishing was as follows—viz :—

[*The figures are not given.*]

*July 4th*—Marched & took a position a little to the left of Dobbs ferry & marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left.—Duke Lauzen marched to the White pln. & Waterbury to Horse-neck.—

*July 5th*—Visited the French Army which had arrived at Northcastle.

*July 6th*—The French Army formed the junction with the American on the Grounds marked out— The legion of Lauzen took a position advanced of the plains on Chittendens Hill west of the River Brunx— This day also the Minister of France arrived in Camp from Philadelphia.

*July 8th*—Began a Work at Dobbs' ferry, with a view to establish a communication there for the transportation of provision and stores from Pennsylvania.

*July 9th*—Received a Letter from the Marqs de la Fayette informing me of Cornwallis's retreat to Williamsburg—that he had pushed his rear and had obtained advantages—having killed 60 & wounded an hundred, with small loss.—

Southern acct though not official speak of the reduction of Augusta and Ninety six by the arms of Major Genl Greene.—

*July 10th*—A Letter from Governor Trumbull inclosing ye proceedings of a convention of Eastern Deligates gives better hope of a regular supply of provision than we have been accustomed to for more than two years as the business

seems to be taken up systematically and regular modes adopted to furnish supplies at stated periods.—

General Heath also writes very favourably of the disposition of the Eastn States—but still we are without the reinforcements of men required of them.

The Boats undertaken by General Schuyler, are, by his letters, in a promising way—as those at Wappings Creek also are by the Q. Mr. Genl's report.—

Hazen's and the 1st York Regimt who had been ordered to West point arrived there, but not till the latter had mutinied on acct. of their pay & several had deserted.— The other York Regiment were detained at Albany to bring down the Boats & boards

*July 13th*—The Jersey Troops arrived at Dobbs's Ferry agreeable to orders— Some French Frigates made an attempt on the Enemy's Post at Loyds Neck but without success not being able to land in the night.—

*July 14th*—Near 5000 men being ordered to march for Kingsbridge, to cover and secure a reconnoitre of the Enemys works on the No. end of York Island, Harlaem river, & the Sound, were prevented doing so by incessant rain—

*July 15th*—The Savage sloop of war of 16 Guns—the ship Genl. Washington, lately taken by the Enemy—a ten Gallay—and two other sma[ll] armed Vessels passed our post at Dobbs Ferry (which was not in a condition to oppose them)— At the same time three or four river Vessels with 4 Eighteen pounders —stores &c had just arrived at Tarrytown and with infinite difficulty, & by great exertion of Colo. Sheldon, Captn. Hurlbut, (who got wounded)—Captn.

Lieut. Miles of the Artillery— & Lt. Shayler were prevented falling into the hands of the Enemy as they got aground 100 yards from the Dock, and were set fire to by the Enemy, but extinguished by the extraordinary activity & spirit of the above Gentln—two of the Carriages however were a good deal damaged by the fire—

The Enemy, however, by sending their armed Boats up the River took the Vessel of a Captn Dobbs laden with Bread for the French Army—clothing for Sheldons Regiment & some passengers.—this was done in the Night.—it being after sunset before the vessels passed the Post at Dobbs ferry.—

*July 16th*—The Cannon & Stores were got out of the Vessels & everything being removed from Tarrytown, two French twelve pounders, & one of our 18 prs were brought to bear upon the ships which lay of Tarrytown, distant about a mile, and obliged them to remove lower down & more over to the West shore.—

*July 17th*—The vessels being again fired at in the position they took yesterday, run up the river to Teller's point, & there come to burning the House of the widow Neyall.—(Noyelles).

*July 18th*—I passed the North River with Count de Rochambeau—Genl. de Beville, his Qr. Mr. Genl. & Genl. Duportail in order to reconnoitre the Enemy Posts and Encampments at the North end of York Island—took an Escort of 150 Men from the Jersey Troops on the other side.

From different views the following discoveries were made—viz :— That two Ships of 20 Guns & upwards lay oppo-

site to the mouth of Spiken devil—one pretty near the East shore, the other abt the same distance from the West; the first is intended to guard the mouth of Spiken devil equally with the No. River.— Below these & directly opposite to Fort Washington (or Knyphausen) lay two transports with about 6 Guns & few men in each, the Eastermost ship seems designed to Guard the landing at the little bay above Jeffereys Rock. — About the center of the Ground leading to Jeffrey's Rock or point a Guard mounts—

It appears to be no more than a Sergeants guard, with one centry in front, where there is a small Work—the Guard House standing within—

These are all the Guards—and all the security I could discover upon the No. River—on the right flank of the Enemy. — the shore from Jeffereys rock downwards was quite open and free—without Hutts of any kind—Houses or Troops—none being encamped below the heights— There did not even appear springs, or washing places any where on the face of the Hill which were resorted to.—

The Island is totally stripped of Trees, & wood of every kind; but low bushes (apparently as high as a mans waste) appear in places which were covered with wood in the year 1776.

The side of the Hill from the Barrier below Fort Tryon, to the Bay opposite to fort Knyphausen is difficult of access; but there seems to be a place abt 200 yds above the bay, which has the best appearance of a landing, and is most private—but a hut or two on the heights abt. 200 yds above Fort Knyphausen, &



a little above the old long Battery, which was thrown up in 1776 must be avoided by leaving it on the left in getting to the Fort last mentioned.

In the hollow below Morris's heights (between that & Haerlam) is a good place to land; but near the York road opposite there appeared to be a few Tents—and many Dragoon Horses seemed to be at Pasture in the low land between the heights.—a landing perfectly concealed but not so good, might be made a little higher up the river, and nearer to those heights which ought to be immediately occupied—(between the old American lines and the aforesaid hollow)

From the point within the mouth of Spiken devil, the way to the Fort on Cox's Hill seems difficult, and the first part of it covered with bushes—there is a better way up from the outer point, but too much exposed to a discovery from the ship which lays opposite to it, and on acct of its being less covered with wood.—

The ground round the Fort on Cox's hill is clear of Bushes—there is an abatis round the work, but no friezing; nor could I discover whether there is a ditch.—At the No. Et corner there appeared to be no Parapet—and the whole seemed to be in a decaying state—the gate is next the No. River.

Forts Tryon, Knyphausen & Ft. George on Laurell, with the Batteries in the line of Pallisading across from River to river appeared to be well friezed, ditched & abattied—In a word to be strong and in good repair.

Fort No. 8. is also abatied & friezed at the Top—the gate is next Haerlam

river—there are no Houses or Huts on the side of the Hill from this work till you come near old Fort Independence.

On McGowans heights there appears (by the extent of the Tents) to be two Battns encamped.—supposed to be British Grenadiers—a little in the rear of this and on the (enemys) left, are a number of Huts—but whether they are Inhabited or not could not be ascertained—there being different opinions on this point from the nearest view we could get of it.—On the height opposite to Morris' White House there appeared to be another Regt. (supposed to be the 38th. British) Between this and Fort Knyp-hausen (abt. half way) are two small Encampments contiguous to each other—both together containing two or 3 and 40 Tents.—Hessians—On Laurel Hill near Fort George is another Encampment in view abt 40 Tents & Huts which appear to be Inhabited also—by (it is said)—the 57th Regiment.—

The other, and only remaining Encampment in view, discoverable from the west side of the river, is betwn the Barrier and King's bridge—in the Hollow between Cox's Hill and the heights below—

One hundred Tents could be counted in view at the same time, and others might be hid by the Hills—At this place it is said the Jagers—Hessians & Ans-pach lay.—

*July 19th*—The Enemys shipping run down the river, and left the navigation of it above once more free for us.—In passing our Battery at Dobbs's where were 2 Eighteen & 2 twelve pounders—and two Howitzers, they recd. considerable damage; especially the Savage sloop

of war which was frequently hulled, and once more set on fire; occasioning several of her people, and one of our own (taken in Dobbes sloop, and) who gives the acct to jump over board—several people he says were killed & the ship pierced through both her sides in many places and in such a manner as to render all their pumps necessary to free the water.

*July 20th*—Count de Rochambeau having called upon me, in the name of Count de Barras, for a definite plan of Campaign, that he might communicate it to the Count de Grasse—I could not but acknowledge, that the uncertainties under which we labour—the few men who have joined (either as recruits for the Continental Battns or Militia)—& the ignorance in which I am kept by some of the States on whom I mostly depended. — especially Massachusetts from whose Govr. I have not received a line since I addressed him from Weathersfield the 23d of May last.—rendered it impracticable for me to do more than to prepare, first, for the enterprize against New York as agreed to at Weathersfield—and secondly for the relief of the Southern States if after all my efforts, & earnest application to these States it should be found at the arrival of Count de Grasse that I had neither men, nor means adequate to the first object—to give this opinion I was further induced from the uncertainty with respect to the time of the arrival of the French Fleet & whether land Troops would come in it or not as had been earnestly requested by me & enforced by the Minister of France.

The uncertainty of sufficient aids of

men & means from the States to whom application had been made, and the discouraging prospect before me of having my requisitions complied with—added to an unwillingness to incur any expense that could be avoided induced me to desire Genl. Knox to suspend the Transport of the heavy cannon & stores from Philadelphia lest we should have them to carry back again or be encumbd with them in the field.—

*July 21st*—Wrote to the Count de Grasse in a Cypher of the Count de Rochambeau's, giving information of the junction of the allied Armies—the Position they had taken — our strength and that of the enemy's—our hopes & fears—& what we expected to do under different circumstances.— This letter was put under cover to Genl. Forman, who was requested to have a look-out on the heights of Monmouth, and deliver it himself upon the arrival of the Fleet—and who was also requested to establish a chain of Expresses for quick communication between Monmouth and Dobbs's ferry—the Expence of which I would see paid.

Again ordered abt. 5000 men to be ready to march at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's Posts at Kingsbridge—and to cut off, if possible, such of Delaney's Corps as should be found without their lines.

At the hour appointed the march commenced in 4 columns on different roads. —Majr. Genl. Parsons, with the Connecticut Troops & 25 of Sheldon's horse, formed the right column (with two field pieces) on the No. River road:—the other Two divisions of the Army, under the Majr. Generals Lincoln & Howe,

together with the corps of Sappers and Miners, and 4 field pieces, formed the next column on the Saw mill river road.

— The right column of the French (on our left) consisted of the Brigade of Bourbonnais, with the Battn of Grenadiers and Choissairs, 2 field pieces, & 2 twelve pounders—their left column was composed of the Legion of Lauzen, —one Battn. of Grenadiers, & Choissairs of Soussonnais, 2 field pieces & 2 Howitzers— General Waterbury, with the Militia, and State Troops of Connecticut, were to march on the East Chester Road, and to be joined at that place by the Cavalry of Sheldon, for the purpose of Scouring Frog's Neck.— Sheldon's Infantry was to join the Legion of Lauzen for the purpose of Scouring Morrisania, and to be covered by Scammell's light Infantry who were to advance thro' the fields & way lay the Roads—stop all communication & prevent Intelligence getting to the Enemy.

At Mile Square (Valentine's hill) the left column of the American Troops and right of the French formed their junction, as did the left of the French also by *mistake*, as it was intended it should cross the Brunx by Garrineaus, & recross it at Williams's bridge.—

The whole Army (Parsons's division first) arrived at Kingsbridge about daylight. & formed on the heights back of Fort Independance—extending towards delancy's Mills. — While the Legion of Lauzen & Waterbury proceeded to scour the Necks of Morrisania & throgs to little effect, as most of the Refugees were fled, & hid in such obscure places as not to be discovered; & by stealth got over to the Island adjacent,

& to the enemy's shipping which lay in the East River.—a few, however, were caught and some Cattle & Horses brought off

*July 22d*—The enemy did not appear to have had the least intelligence of our movement—or to know we were upon the heights opposite to them till the whole Army were ready to display.

After having fixed upon the ground, & formed our line, I began, with General Rochambeau and the Engineers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position and works, first from Tippet's hill opposite to their left—and from hence it was evident that the small redoubt (Fort Charles) near Kingsbridge would be absolutely at the command of a battery which might be erected thereon.— It also appeared equally evident that the Fort on Cox's hill was in bad repair, & little dependence placed in it—there is neither ditch nor friezing to it, and the No. East Corner appears quite easy of access (occasioned, as it would seem) by a rock.— the approach from the inner Point (mentioned in the reconnoitre from the Jersey shore) is secured by a ledge of Rocks, which would conceal a party from the observation & view of the ship till it got within abt. 100 yds of the Fort, round which for that or a greater distance the ground has little covering upon it of bushes—there is a house on this side under Tippet's hill, but out of view, I conceive, of the crossing place most favourable to a partizan stroke— From this view and every other I could get of Forts Tryon, Knyphausen & Laurel hill, the works are formidable.—

There is no Barracks or huts on the East side of the Hill on which Forts Tryon and Knyphausen stands—nor are

there any on the hill opposite except those by Fort George.— Near the Blew bell there is a number of Houses, but they have more the appearance of Stables than Barracks.— In the hollow, near the Barrier gate, are about 14 or 15 Tents; which is the only Encampment I could see without the line of Pallisading, as the large one discovered on the 18th through the brake of the Hill betwn Fort Tryon & Coxs's hill was not to be seen from any view I had.—

A continued Hill from the Creek East of Haerlam River, & a little below Morris's White House, has from every part of it the command of the opposite shore, and all the plain adjoining within range of shot from batteries which may be erected thereon— The general width of the river along this range of Hills appears to be from one to two hundred yards—the opposite shore (tho' more or less marshy) does not seem miry, & the banks are very easy of access—how far the Battery under cover of the block Ho. on the hill No. West of Harlaem town is capable of scouring the plain is difficult to determine from this side, but it would seem as if the distance was too great to be within the range of its shot on that part of the plain nearest the Creek before mentioned, & which is also nearest the height back of our old lines thrown up in the year 1776.— It unfortunately happens that in the rear of the (continued) hill before mentioned there is a deep swamp, and the ground, East of that swamp are not so high as the heights near Harlaem river — In the rear of this again is the Brunx, which is not to be crossed without Boats below De Lancy's Mills.

*July 23d*—Went upon Frogs Neck to see what communication could be had with Long Isld, the Engineers attending with Instrumts. to measure the distance across, found it to be — yards.

Having finished the reconnoitre without damage—a few harmless shot being fired at us—we marched back about Six o'clock by the same road we went down & a reversed order of March, and arrived in Camp about Midnight

This day letters from Genls. Greene and the Marqs. de la Fayette came to hand; the first informing of his having taken all the Enemy's posts in Georgia except Savanna—and all those in So. Carolina except Charles Town & Ninety Six—the last of wch he was obliged to abandon the siege of, on acct of the relief which was marching to it, consequent of the late reinforcemt. received at Charles Town— The second, that Wayne's affair with Lord Cornwallis on the 6th Inst was partial on our side, as a part of our force was opposed to the enemy's whole army—that on our side the loss in killed, wounded and missing amounted to 5 Capt: 1 Captn Lieut 4 Lieutts 11 Sergts & 118 R & file.—that the enemy's loss was computed at 300 at least—that our loss of two field pieces proceeded, the horses belonging to them being killed,—and that Lord Cornwallis had retreated to the South side of James River from the Peninsula at James Town.—

*July 29th*—A Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette (commanding in Virginia) informed me that after Lord Cornwallis had crossed James River he detached Tarleton with a body of horse into Amelia County with a view, as was sup-

posed, to destroy some stores which had been deposited there, but which had been previously removed—that after this the enemys whole force removed to Portsmouth with a design it was said to embark part of them—and that he had detached Generl Wayne to the South side of James River to cover the Country, while the enemy lay in it, and to march Southerly if they did not—he himself with the main body of his Army having taken a position at a place called Malvin hill not far from Shirley.

Part of the Second York Regiment came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen Schuyler, & were finished—the light Infantry Company of the Regiment was ordered down with the next Boats—and the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done.

About this time, the discontents in the Connecticut State line occasioned by some disappointment of a Committee sent from it to the assembly, in settling an Acct of Subsistence &c began to increase, & put on a more serious face ; which induced me to write a second letter to the Govr of that State—the distress of the Line for want of a small portion of the pay due it contributed not a little to irritate them.

*July 30th*—Ordered the Jersey Militia, who were directed to assemble in the first instance at Morristown to Dobbs ferry and there join the remains of the Jersey Brigade.—and receiving Letters from Govr Clinton & Genl Clinton complaining that none of the Massachusetts Militia repaired to Albany agreeable to my requisition, I again addressed Govr. Hancock in pointed terms to send

them on—and complained of not having recd answers from him to any of my letters since the Conference with Count de Rochambeau and a communication of the plan of operation which was agreed on at Weathersfield the 22d. of May last.

Received a Letter from the Count de Barras, refering to one written by him to Genl. Rochambeau in cypher ; pointing in stronger terms than heretofore, his disinclination to leave Newport till the arrival of Adml de Grass—This induced me to desist from further representing the advantages which would result from preventing a junction of the enemy's force at New York ; & blocking up those which are now in Virginia, lest in the attempt any disaster should happen, & the loss of or damage to his fleet, should be ascribed to my obstinacy in urging a measure to which his own judgment was opposd, & the execution of which might impede his junction with the West India fleet, & thwart the views of the Count de Grasse upon this coast.—especially as he gave it as a clear opinion, that the West India fleet, might be expected by the 10th of next month.

*July 31st*—Governor Trumbull informed me, that in order to facilitate the collection of a Specie Tax for the purpose of sending money to the Troops of the Connecticut line Gentlemen were sent to the different Towns of the State to try by personal influence & exertion to hasten it to the army—and that he & some of his Council had removed to Hartford to forward on the Recrts for the Continental Regiments—and the Militia—and in a word to promote the operations of the Campaign as much as in them lay—.



## LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

## SECOND SERIES

## THIRTY

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME

PUBLISHED

1754 TO 1777

## I

Reprinted from the Baltimore Repertory for  
March 1811\*

Wills Creek 24 April 1754

May it please your Excellency,

It is with the greatest concern I acquaint you, that Mr. Ward, ensign in Captain Frents' company, was obliged to surrender his small fortress in the Forks of Monongahela, at the summons of Captain Contrecoeur, commander of the French forces who fell down from Venango with a fleet of 360 canoes and battoes, conveying upwards of one thousand men, eighteen pieces of artillery, and large stores of provisions and other necessaries—Mr Ward having but an inconsiderable number of men not (exceeding 30) and no cannon to make a proper defence was forced to give up the fort on the 17th instant—They suffered him to draw out his men, arms, and working tools, and gave leave that he might retreat to the inhabitants with them. I have heard of your excellency's great zeal for his majesty's service, and for all our interests on the present occasion; therefore I am persuaded you will take proper notice of the Indians' moving speech and think their unshaken fidelity worthy your consideration.

I have arrived thus far with a detach-

ment of 159 men; col Fry with the remainder of the regiments and artillery is daily expected. In the mean time we shall advance slowly across the mountains, making the roads as we march, fit for the carriage [of] the great guns &c. and are designed to proceed as far as the mouth of Red Stone Creek which enters the Monogahela about 37 miles above the fort (the French have taken) from whence we have water carriage down the river; there is a store-house built by the Ohio Company at the place, which for the present may serve as a receptacle for our ammunition and provisions

Besides the French herein mentioned, we have credible information that another party are coming up Ohio. We also have intelligence that 600 of the Chipoways and Ottoway Indians are marching down Scioto Creek to join them.

I ought first to have begged pardon of your excellency for this liberty of writing, as I am not happy enough to be ranked among those of your acquaintance. It was the glowing zeal I owe my country that influenced me to impart these advices and my inclination prompted me to do it to you as I know you are solicitous for the public weal and warm in this interesting cause—that should rouse from the lethargy we have fallen into, the heroick spirit of every free-born English man to attest the rights and privileges of our king (if we don't consult the benefit of ourselves) and rescue from the invasions of a usurping enemy, our Majesty's property, his dignity, and land

I hope sir, you will excuse the freeness of my expressions, they are the pure sentiments of the heart of him who is

with all imaginable regard and due respect, Your Excellency's most obt  
and Very humble Servt

GEO. WASHINGTON

[His Excellency the Governør of —]

N. B. I herewith have inclosed for your Excellency's perusal a copy of the Summons from the French officers, and also the Indian's speech which was delivered to and brought by Mr. Ward.

*\* Reprinted because of the rarity of the volume.*

## II

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

[Fort Cumberland Sep 20 1755]

Sir, you are hereby desired to give in an exact return of all the clothing of every kind, arms of all sorts, ammunition, Provisions, Tents, Pack Saddles, that are at Winchester and to be very particular in distinguishing the quantity & quality of each sort.

I must also desire that you will provide Barracks, Provisions and other absolute necessarys for the Recruits as they arrive at that place of Rendeyvous and, if you find any difficulty in getting Provisions in the neighbourhood of Winchester you must send to Conogogee to enable you do this I have furnished you with £20.

I have left a letter and orders for Capt Bell or his subalterns, which I desire you will deliver or cause to be delivered so soon as he or they come to their Rendeyvous which will be the first of October, as the letter contains the officer's Instructions, the first that arrives is ordered to open it.

Given under my hand at Fort Cumberland the 20th Sep 1755.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mr. Commissary Dick

## III

Communicated by Curtis Guild

Fort Loudon June 16 1757

Sir :

This moment the inclosed letters came to my hands; I have not lost a moments time in transmitting them to you as I look upon the intelligence to be of the utmost Importance. If the Enemy is coming down in such numbers and with such a train of Artillery as we are bid to Expect Fort Cumberland must inevitably fall into their hands as no Efforts can be timely made to save it. I send you sir a copy of Council of War held at this place; and I intend to pursue the resolution therein contained, till I receive orders how to act. It is morally certain that the next object which the French have in view is Fort Loudon and that it is yet in a very untenable posture; they have no roads for carriages into any other province but thro' this place and their lyes here a quantity of stores belonging to his Majesty and this colony very much exposed and unguarded. I shall not taken up your time sir with a tedious detail of the Fort I have despatched one express to Governor Dinwiddie and another to Colo. — I am Your Excellency's Most

Obed Hble Servt

GEO WASHINGTON

## IV

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Mount Vernon in Virginia

Sept 30th 1757

Dear Sir,

Permit me to recommend Col. Fairfax, the bearer of this to your Friendly notice, while he stays in Philadelphia.

He is son of our late President, who is but just dead, and nearly related to the present Lord Fairfax Proprietor of this Neck Business calling him to England, he is proceeding hence to New York hoping to get a Passage in the Packet or some ship of War & being a stranger in your City wanted Introduction, to whom then can I better introduce him than the agreeable Mr. Peters. I hope in doing this I make use of no unwelcome liberty—if I do your genteel treatment of myself made me assume it and must plead my excuse.

My best respects is tendered to the Governor & I am with great truth,  
your obedt and obliged

Humble Servant

G. WASHINGTON

Rev. Richard Peters

# V

Communicated by Dr. Pierre C. Van Wyck

Mount Vernon Sept 30 1757

Honored Madam—Your letter by Mr. Smith I received on my way to Col Fairfax's funeral ; in answer to that part relative to my Bro'r Charles' Marriage I shall observe, that if there is no other objection than the one you mention, it may soon be removed ; and that Mrs Thornton if she believes I am capable of taking these ungenrous advantages, knows little of the principles which govern my conduct :—however I suppose Mrs Thornton is actuated by prudent Motives and therefore would be safe.—If she will get any Instrument of writing drawn I will sign it provided it does not effect me in other respects than her Daughters Fortune, if my Brother dies under Age.

I have waited till now, expecting the

arrival of my Negros Cloaths from Great Britain ; but as the season is advancing, and risks attending them I can no longer depend, and therefore beg the favour of you to choose me about 250 yds Oznbits 200 yds of cotton 35 pr Plad Hoes and as much thread as is necessary in Mr Lewis' Store if he has them if not in Mr Jackson's and send them up by Jno who comes down with a Tumbler for that purpose.

I set out this afternoon on my return to Winchester.

I offer my Love to Charles, and am  
Hon'd Madam,

Yr. most Dutiful and affect'e Son

GO. WASHINGTON

# VI

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

[———] Jany 5th 1758

Sir

I have not leisure at this time to enquire into the Right Mr. Darrell pretends to have of altering the form of the Land I bought of him. I should be glad therefore to know if I receive Deeds according to the present courses & bounds, whether it will invalidate in any degree, my claim at a future prosecution of it.

I am your most obedient Servant

G. WASHINGTON

Capt Geo. Johnston

# VII

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Camp—at——River 26th June 1758

Sir

I have just Incamped at this place on my [way] back to Fort Cumberland, with a weak escort to a large convey of Provisions &, the intent of this therefore is

to desire that you will immediately upon receipt of it, detach one hundred men, and three waggons to our assistance. Dont suffer the least delay, I order the waggons upon a supposition that you have some at Pearsalls in Pay, but if I am wrong in this suggestion, be pleased to engage any you can, in time, for this service as we are plagued in a most extraordinary manner with bad Teams.

I am Sir, your most obedient Servt.

G. WASHINGTON

To Capt. Naggener or Commanding Officer at Pearsalls Fort

#### VIII

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Pearsall, 30 June 1758

Orders for Sergeant David Wilper

You are to remain at this place with a Corporal and Twelve men for defence of the Post, and such of the Country People as may resort to it, as also for security of the stores &c that now are, or shall be lodged here, taking care to pass your receipts for them and to produce proper vouchers for their delivery again.

You are to observe strict discipline suffer no soldier to straggle from the Fort without Leave, nor no Liquor to be sold to your men without your permission.

Make regular returns of your command to me while I am at Fort Cumberland & to Lieutenant Smith after I have marched from that Place unless you receive orders to the contrary and apply to him for what ammunition you may want. In every respect you are to conform to the Rules & Discipline of War in the like cases.

Given under my hand at Pearsall this 30th day of June 1758

Mr. Wilper

G. WASHINGTON

#### IX

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Camp at Fort Cumberland,

July 29th 1758

Dear Sir

Permit me to return you my sincerest thanks for your great assistance at the late election, and to assure you that I shall ever return a lively sense of the favour. I am extreme sorry that you neglected your own election in Augusta by this means, but I hope you are secure in Hampshire.

Our expedition seems overcast with too many Ills to give you any satisfaction in a transient relation of them. God knows what's intended, for nothing seems ripe for execution, backwardness & I would if I dare, say more, appears in all things.

Tomorrow I am summon'd to a conference with Col. Bouquet on the Ray's Town Road, when I shall warmly urge the advanced Season and every other argument that the Important matter requires to hurry things forward and shall endeavor to obtain leave (if possible) to advance on with the Virginians to the crossing at least, opening the Road & constructing Posts as we go.

I am Dear Sir

your most obedient Servant

[—]

G. WASHINGTON

#### X

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Mount Vernon, Oct. 30th 1762

Dear Sir

I am sorry to be the messenger of the

news, but it is incumbent upon me to inform you of the Death of the mare, you committed to my care, how she died, I am able to give you but a very unsatisfactory account for on the 3rd Inst I set out for Frederick and left her to all appearance as well as a creature could be Mr. Green and I observing a day or two before, how fat and frolicksome she seemed & on my return in 8 days time I got the news of her death. She discovered no visible signs of ailment as I am told in the morning of the 7th, when let out of the stable, but before night was swelled to a monstrous size & died in a few hours—Bishop (my old servant) opened her but could perceive no hurt bruise or other apparent cause of so sudden a death which inclines me to think it was occasioned by eating blasted corn, a piece of which I had in ground. I wanted to clean and never could fence my chariot Horses of it, the rest, consequently followed & this I am persuaded puffed her up in the manner related. She had no foal in her, which assures me that she never would breed, as I am convinced, she had a competent share of Ariels performances, not content with which she was often caught in amorous mood with a young horse of mine, notwithstanding my utmost endeavours to keep them under you will feel the loss of this accident more sensibly but can not be more concerned at the account, than I was, for I had pleased myself with the thoughts of delivering her to you in fine order, when you returned to below

We receive the news of your return with a great deal of pleasure & if there is any thing previous to it in which I can

be serviceable, I hope you will command me, you did me singular services in a like case, & why wont you give me an opportunity of making a grateful return. Mrs. Washington writes to Mrs. Fairfax under this cover to whom & Miss Fairfax please to offer my best wishes

I am Dear Sir

your most obed & Hble Servant

[—]

G. WASHINGTON

# XI

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

1768

This ticket (No. 274) shall entitle the Possessor to whatever Prize may happen to be drawn against its number in the Mountain Road Lottery.

G. WASHINGTON

# XII

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

May 30th 1768

Rev. Sir

Mr. Magowan who lived several years in my Family, a Tutor to Master Custis (my son in Law & ward) having taken his departure for England, leaves the young gentleman without any master at this time. I should be glad therefore to know if it would be convenient for you to add him to the number of your Pupils. He is a boy of good genius, about 14 years of age, untainted in his morals & of innocent manners. Two years and upwards he has been reading of Virgil & was (at the time. Mr. Magowan left him) entered upon the Greek Testament.

I presume, he has grown not a little rusty in both having had no benefit of his Tutor since Christmas, notwithstanding he left the country in March only. If he comes, he will have a boy (well



acquainted with House business, which may be made as useful as possible in your Family to keep him out of Idleness) & two horses to furnish him with the means of getting to Church & elsewhere as you may permit, for he will be put entirely & absolutely under your Tuition & direction to manage as you think proper in all respects.

Now Sir, If you incline to take Master Custis, I should be glad to know what conveniences, it may be necessary for him to bring & how soon he may come for as to his Board & schooling (provender for his Horses, he may lay in himself.) I do not think it necessary to enquire into and will cheerfully pay Ten or Twelve pounds a year, extraordinary to engage your peculiar care of, & a watchful eye to him as he is a promising boy, the last of his family & will possess a very large Fortune, add to this my anxiety to make him fit for more useful purposes than Horse Racer.

This letter will be sent to you by my Brother at Frederickburg & I should be obliged to you for an answer by the first Post to Alexandria near to which place I live.

I am Sir, your most obed Servant

G. WASHINGTON

P. S. If it is necessary for him to provide a Bed, could one be purchased in your Neighborhood. it would save a long carriage.

Rev. Bouchier

### XIII

Communicated by Charles Bruff

Sir—

April 20th 1773

As you have usually paid the Int't of

your Bond at this Court, I have taken the liberty of requesting you to do it now to Mr. James Hill, as it is not convenient to me, to be down at the Meeting of Merchants, Mr. Hills receipt for the Ten pounds Sixteen shillings due at the foot of this Letter will be the same as if passed from Sir.

Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

May 4th 1773 Recv'd the above sum of Ten pounds sixteen Shillings of Doctor James Carter.

James Hill

### XIV

Communicated by Wm. M. Darlington

Mount Vernon Feby 12th 1774

Dear Sir

Satisfied as I am of the many applications you must have had made to you for assistants to Survey the Officers and Soldiers Lands under the Proclamation of Oct'r 1763, I cannot help taking the liberty of mentioning my Friend & acquaintance Captn Thos Rutherford to you, as one—To say anything in favour of a gentleman, whose character is well known, is useless, to you altogether unnecessary, as you are as well acquainted with Captn Rutherford as I am; I shall only add therefore, that your favours to him on this occasion, will be considered in the light of an obligation conferr'd on Dr Sir Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

### XV

From facsimile in New York Manual, 1851

Mount Vernon

Mar 6th 1775

Dr Sir,

Mr. Fitzhugh delivered me your favr

of the 13th ulto. on Tuesday last—but as I received it on the Road, I could not answer it by him, & wish it was in my power to do it satisfactorily now—So far am I from having £200 to lend, that, involved as I am with one expence and another particularly on a very heavy charge of Seating my Lands over the Alligany Mountains in order to comply with the conditions of the Grant. I would gladly borrow that Sum myself for a few Months, so exceeding difficult do I find it, under the present scarcity of cash to collect enough to answer this emergency & at the same time comply with my other engagements—This information you may rely on as a fact from

Dr Sir

yr Most Obed. Servt.

GO WASHINGTON

To Mr. Jno. Washington,  
near Leeds in King George

XVI

From the Collection of Henry M. Morris  
Camp at Cambridge Augt 4th 1775

Dr Sir

I have been favoured with your Letter of the 18th ulto by Messrs Ogden & Burr & wish it was in my power to do that justice to the merits of those Gentlemen which you think them entitled to—when ever it is, I shall not be unmindful of your recommendations—the two or three appointments with which I have been honour'd by Congress were partly engaged before I received your Letter and you will please recollect that the ultimate appointment of all other Officers is vested in the Governments in which the

Regiments were originally raised; I can venture to pronounce therefore, that four Commissions in the army will be disposed of out of the four New England Governments; the good policy and justice of which, you may judge of as well as I can; No Volunteers from any other Colonies, however deserving they may be of notice, or to be considered on acct of the Expence which they are run to, will stand little chance whilst there is an application from any person of the Government from whence the Regiment came.

Admitting this to be the case & I believe hardly any one will doubt it had not the Congress better reserve these appointments in their own hands? It will be putting the matter upon a much larger bottom and giving merit a better chance; nor do I see any inconvenience arising from it, as it is highly presumable that during the continuance of these disturbances, the Congress will be chiefly sitting, or acting by a Committee from whence commissions might be as easily obtained as from a Provisional Assembly or Congress— I have taken the liberty of suggesting this matter, as I conceive the Service will be infinitely promoted thereby; as merit only, without a regard to Country will entitle a man to preferment, when, & so often as vacancy's may happen—Having wrote fully to the Congress respecting the state of publick affairs, I shall refer you to that, & am with great regard

Dr Sr

Yr most Obedt Hble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

To Colo Lewis Morris  
of New York now at Philadelphia

## XVII

Communicated by B. F. de Costa

NOTE. — This letter is printed in Sparks' Writings of Washington [Vol. V. 68], with the omission of the following paragraphs.

Camp at Cambridge August 29 1775

Dear Sir

1st. After the first paragraph, p. 68, ending "*than you can easily imagine.*" As we have now nearly completed our lines of defence, we have nothing more in my opinion to fear from the enemy, provided, we can keep our men to their duty and make them watchful and vigilant, but it is among the most difficult tasks I ever undertook in my life to induce these people to believe that there is or can be danger till the Bayonet is pushed at their breasts; not that it proceeds from any superior prowess, but rather from an unaccountable kind of stupidity in the lower class of these people, which believe me, prevails but too generally among the officers of the Massachusetts part of the army, who are nearly of the same kidney with the privates, and adds not a little to my difficulties; as there is no such thing as getting officers of this stamp to carry orders into execution—to curry favor with the men (by whom they were chosen, and on whose smiles they may possibly think they may again rely) seems to be one of the principal objects of their attention.

2d. After the second paragraph as printed by Sparks, p. 69, ending, "*is impolitic to a great degree.*"

I have made a pretty good slam amongst such kind of officers as the Massachusetts Government abound in since I came to this Camp, having broke

one Colonel and two Captains for cowardly behaviour in the action on Bunker Hill, two Captains for drawing more pay and provisions than they had men in their company—and one for being absent from his post when the Enemy appeared there, and burnt a house just by it. Besides these, I have at this time one Colonel, one Major, one Captain, and two subalterns under arrest for trial —In short I spare none and yet fear it will not all do, as these people seem to be too inattentive to everything but their interests.

3d. After the third paragraph as printed by Sparks, p. 71, ending, "*without any effect as yet.*"

There has been so many great and capital errors and abuses to rectify, so many examples to make, and so little inclination in the officers of inferior rank to contribute their aid to accomplish this work, that my life has been nothing else (since I came here) but one continued round of annoyance and fatigue, in short no pecuniary recompense could induce me to undergo what I have, especially as I expect by showing so little countenance to irregularities and publick abuses, to render myself obnoxious to a greater part of these people.

But as I have already greatly exceeded the bounds of a letter, I will not trouble you with matters relative to my feelings

NOTE.—There are some trifling variations from the text printed by Sparks, which do not require notice.

## XVIII

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

Cambridge, 27th Feb 1776

Sir,

We were falsely alarmed a while ago

with an acct. of the Regulars coming over from the Castle to Dorchester. Mr. Bayler whom I immediately sent off is just returned with a contradiction of it. But as a rascally Rifle man went in last night & will no doubt give all the Intelligence he can, wd it not be prudent to keep six or eight trusty men by way of Look outs or Patrols tonight on the Point next the Castle as well as on Nuke Hill. At the same time ordering particular Regimts to be ready to march at a moments warning to the Heights of Dorchester; For should the Enemy get Possession of those Hills before us they would render it a difficult task to dispossess them—better it is therefore to prevent than to remedy an evil.

I am yr most obed

GO. WASHINGTON

To Major Genl Ward, Roxbury

### XIX

From the Collection of John V. L. Pruyn

Cambridge March 19, 1776

My Lord

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th Instant & to give you my congratulations upon your late appointment by the Honourable Congress

If the intelligence is true and to be depended on, which was brought by the Gentn to New York, I think with you; that we shall have an opportunity of securing & putting the continent in a tolerable posture of defence and that the operations of the Summers Campaign will be not so terrible, as we were taught to expect, from the accounts and denunciations which the ministry have held forth to the publick.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that on the morning of the 17 Instant General Howe with his army abandon'd the Town of Boston without destroying It, an event of much importance and which must be heard with great satisfaction, and that we are now in full possession—Their embarkation & retreat were hurried and precipitate, and they have left behind 'em stores of one thing and another to a pretty considerable amount, among which are several pieces of Heavy Cannon & one or two Mortars which are spiked—The Town is in a much better situation and less Injured, than I expected from the reports I had received, tho' to be sure It is much damaged and many Houses despoiled of their valuable furniture.

The Fleet is still in King and Nantasket Roads and where they Intend to make a descent next, is altogether unknown, but supposing New York to be an object of much importance & to be in their view, I must recommend your most strenuous and active exertions in preparing to prevent any designs or attempts they may have against It. I have detached the Riflemen & Five Batallions from home to your assistance, which will be followed by others as circumstances will allow. These, with what forces you have & can assemble, If there shou'd be an occasion, I trust will be sufficient to hinder the Enemy from possessing the City or making a Lodgement 'till the main body of this army can arrive.

I am My Lord with great esteem  
your Most Obed't Humble Servt  
G. WASHINGTON

[Lord Stirling]

## XX

From the Bench and Bar of Missouri

Headquarters

Cambridge 24th March, 1776

Mr. Leonard is a man whose exemplary life and conversation, must make him highly esteemed by every person, who has the pleasure of being acquainted with him. The Congregation of Woodstock know him well, it therefore can be no surprise to us to hear that they will be loth to part with him. His usefulness in this army is great—he is employed in the glorious work of attending to the morals, of a brave people who are fighting for their Liberties, the Liberties of the people of Woodstock, the Liberties of all America. We therefore hope, that knowing how nobly he is employed—the Congregation of Woodstock will cheerfully give up to the public a gentleman so very useful, and when by the blessing of a kind providence this glorious and unpareleed struggle for our Liberties, is at an end, we have not the least doubt, but Mr. Leonard will with redoubled joy be received in the open arms of a Congregation so very dear to him, as the good people of Woodstock are. This is what is hoped for, this is what is expected by the Congregation of Woodstock's sincere well wishers and

Very Humble Servants

G. WASHINGTON

ISRAEL PUTNAM

To the Church and Congregation at Woodstock

## XXI

Communicated by James F. Howe

Head Quarters New York

July 8th 1776

Sir. By a letter from his Honor Govr.

Trumbull received on the 5th Inst. I was informed he had ordered three Regiments of Horse on to this place (under your command) with all possible dispatch, and was desired in case they were not wanted to inform Colo. Sillaman thereof, accordingly I wrote Colo. Sillaman acquainting him, it was my desire the Men might come on provided they could leave or send back their Horse, which letter did not go forward so soon as I intended. Majr. Starr this morning waited on informing me of his arrival with 50 of the troop, & that the rest were on their March.—I have ordered him to find some pasture for his horse this day, and immediately ride forward and acquaint You, that there is not more forage on hand or to be had than is absolutely necessary for the Use of our Working and Artillery Horses,—and that it is my desire your Men may be halted some way in the Rear of this place, and their Horses sent back, otherways the Men can only be a Moth & check to the service, as they cannot act as *Horse Men* in case of Action, or if they could forage would not be found to support them.—I think it absolutely necessary the Men should be hear 'till the New Levies all arrive,—but for the above reasons shall be necessitated to order their return unless they can be persuaded to come on without their Horse.—I would not be supposed by this to discourage the troop of Horse from being in constant readiness in the different *States*, as I am fully persuaded they will be much more usefull than the Militia to throw in succours to a place on an Emergency.—I am pleased to see with what chearfulness and alacrity the troops from your



Province step forward to the assistance of their Countrymen when ever call'd, & doubt not it will continue. Majr. Starr will be able to inform you fully from what I have mentioned to him the absolute necessity for the Men, & the utter impossibility of keeping the Horse. Baggage Waggon may be hired to bring on Baggage &c for your Men, from any place they leave their Horse

I am Sir Your Most Huml Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Col. Seymoure

XXII

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,  
Albany

Head Quarters N. York

26th July 1776

Dear Sir

Yours of the 23d Instant is duly Received and am pleased with your timely notice of your Situation Strength, movements, &c &c. and think time is not to be lost or expence regarded in getting yourselves in the best posture of Defence, not knowing how soon the Enemy may attempt to pass you— The Fire Rafts you mention are not of the best construction but probably are the best that can be procured with the dispatch Necessary— Cables and Anchors I should suppose might easily be procured from the Vessels which used to be plying up and down the River—and are now lying Idle,— Salt Petre from the Manufactures in the Country as neither are to be had in this place,—the necessity of the Case will fully Justify your taking the former wherever to be found, and the safety of the people I should imagine would induce them to assist you to the latter all in their power.

I have sent up Lieut Machine to lay

out and oversee such Works as shall be tho't necessary by the Officers there, and from your representation of the Hill, which overlooks the Fort,—I think it ought to be taken possession of Immediately.— You who are on the spot must be a better Judge than I possibly can, must leave it with you to erect such Works as you, with Col. Clinton and the Engineer may think Necessary. — a proper Abstract or pay Roll should be made out, of the Wages due the Artificers, examined and certified by you or your Bro when it may be sent here and the Money Drawn.— Your method of fixing fires, with advanced Guards if they are Vigilant must answer the purpose you intend— Your dismissing all the New Englandmen to 300 is a step I approve of,—I hope you may continue to prevent the Enemy from obtaining any supplies or Intelligence and from committing any Ravages on the distress'd Peasentry on and about the Shores,—while you are able to keep them in this Situation below the Forts they can do little Damage— by every conveyance I shall like to hear of your Situation and the Enemies Manoevers.

I am Sir wishing you Success—

Your Most Huml Servt

GO WASHINGTON

P. S. Since the above the Q. M. Genl. Informs me you may be supplied with Turpentine here, and thinks can get Salt Petre enough for the present Emergency  
General Clinton

XXIII

Communicated by George Jackson Fisher

Head Quarters, New York

Sir

17 Aug. 1776

I am favoured with yours of the 13th

& 14th inst. and am pleased to find you have been succesfull in procuring Cannon for the Defence of Hudsons River; also that there is such a good prospect of effectually securing the Pass at Fort Montgomery, the mention you make of General Clinton's attention to that & other important Objects gives me great satisfaction, & confirms me in the opinion that he is fully qualified for the trust reposed in him by the Congress, in their appointing him a Brigadier— I approve much of the measure for making a number of Matrosses by putting a part of the Garrison to exercising the Artillery, the same steps have been taken here.— If any material advantages can be derived from fitting out the two Sloops you speak of I shall be glad you have undertaken it, tho' I confess they are not very apparent to me at present— I cannot consent to those Vessels being manned from among the Levies, unless absolutely necessary, if the Officers can inlist them out of the Militia I have no objection thereto— I shall comply with your request in furnishing Capt. Benson with a sufficient quantity of Powder for the two Armed Vessels, & am with due Regard & Esteem

Sir, Your very Humble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Robert Yates Esqr.

Chairman of the Committee

at Poughkeepsie

#### XXIV

From the original in the possession of T. Harrison Garrett, published in the Southern Magazine for March, 1874

Col Morris's on the Heights of

Harlem 30 Sept 1776

Dear Lund

[The following paragraph was omitted from

this letter as published in the Historical Magazine, VII. 33:]

I therefore in answer to your last Letter of the 18th shall say

With respect to the Chimney I would not have you for the sake of a little work spoil the look of the Fireplaces, tho that in the Parlour must, I should think, stand as it does; not so much on acct of the wainscotting, which I think must be altered (on acct of the Door leading into the new Building) as on acct of the Chimney Piece & the manner of its fronting into the Room.—The Chimney in the Room above ought, if it could be so contrived, to be an angle Chimney as the others are; but I would not have this attempted at the expence of pulling down the Partition.—The Chimney in the New Room should be exactly in the middle of it—the doors and every thing else to be exactly answerably and uniform—in short I would have the whole executed in a masterly manner.—

You ought surely to have a Window in the gable end of the New Cellar (either under the Venitian Window, or one on each side of it.—)

Let Mr Herbert know that I shall be very happy in getting his Brother exchanged as soon as possible, but as the Enemy have more of our officers than we of theirs, and some of ours have been long confined (& claim ye right of being first exchanged) I do not know how far it may be in my power at this time, to comply with his desires.—

Remember me to all our Neighbors and friends, particularly to Colo Mason, to whom I would write if I had time to do it fully and satisfactorily—without

this I think the Correspondance on my part would be unavailing— I am with truth and sincerity

Dr Lund Yr affecte friend

GO. WASHINGTON

[Lund Washington Esq]

XXV

From the Washington Papers in the Collection  
of the late Dr. Joshua I. Cohen, of  
Baltimore, Md.

Head Quarters Trenton,

5 Decemr 1776

Sir

I have yours of this morning from Bristol. As the most Considerable part of the Army is like to be in this Town and its Neighbourhood, I think you better remove the Treasury as near as possible on the pennsylvania Side of the River, when you have fixed upon a House, a proper Guard shall be appointed. It is very inconvenient for officers to go for Money, which is wanted every Moment for one Purpose or other, even as far as Bristol. Inclosed you have a Letter for Govr Livingston which desire Colo Griffin to send over to Burlington by a trusty Messenger; if Govr Livingston should not be at Burlington, he will certainly be at Philada to which place Colo Griffin (who lodges at priestleys) will be pleased to send it.

I am Sir Yr most obt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

P.S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed for Colo Reed also

Richard Dallam Esqr.

XXVI

Communicated by William W. Carruth

Head Quarters Jan. 1 1777

Gentlemen

Pursuant to powers given me by the

Honorable Congress I have appointed the late Major Lee Colonel of a Regiment to be raised in the Defence of America: He is apprehensive he may find some Difficulty in procuring Arms— Permit me to solicit your Attention to this deserving Officer, and give him all the Assistance in compleating his Corps not only with Arms but other Necessaries.

I flatter myself that Colo Lee will not be posponed to other Officers who are recruiting in your State. Tho' his Establishment is different— The common good and the Safety of the whole must & I doubt will be the Object of your Attention. I am Gentlemen

most truly & respectfully

Your Obedient Humble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

The Hon President of Council  
of Massachusetts Bay

XXVII

Communicated by S. H. Shreve

Head Quarters Morris Town

3d March 1777

Sir

A letter from Govr Livingston informs me that you are yet at Burlington — When I ordered You to march with such of your Battalion as was then enlisted, I hoped that you would soon have had it in your power to move; and am not a little uneasy at the delay— The times demand every man that can possibly be brought into the Field— You will loose no time in coming on, with all the men inlisted into your Battalion, to Princeton; where, if your Men are not already sufficiently cloathed, the Barracks are as commodious as those at

Burlington; and there remain till you hear farther from me—

I am Yr. most Hble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Col Israel Shreve  
Burlington

XXVIII

From the original in the Maryland Historical Society

Head Quarters Morristown

Sir

12th March 1777

You are hereby required immediately to send me an exact return of the State of your Regiment, and to march all the Recruits you have to Philadelphia, where they will be innoculated and receive further orders from the Commanding Officer in that City.

No plea's for delay, drawn from the dispersion of the officers and men can be admitted. Every Commanding Officer should know where his inferior Officers, and those where their Recruits are; and shou'd be able to collect them in the most expeditious manner—

You and the Major must come on with the Regiment, leaving behind a Sufficient number of proper Officers to carry on the Recruiting Service; also the Lieut Colo. to direct and hurry them on as fast as they get the compliment of men respectively assign'd to them.

I am Sir Your Hble Servt

G WASHINGTON

Coll. Mordecai Gist, at Baltimore

XXIX

From the McLane papers in the N.Y. Historical Society

Sir Head Quarters 28 March 1777

I have certain information that Lord

Cornwallis returned from Jersey yesterday, and 'tis said they intend an attack upon this army with their joint force before Genl Green can rejoin us. I therefore depend upon your keeping a very good look out upon their line, and gaining every intelligence from people coming out of Town, that I may have the earliest notice of their movements or intentions

I am Sir

Yr most obt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Capt McLean or next in Command  
near Rising Sun

XXX

Communicated by Robert Ludlow Fowler

Headquarters Morristown

29 March 1777

Sir

After returning my sincere thanks to you and the other officers of your Battalion for your services since your arrival in this State, I am under the necessity, however painful to me, of requesting you to remain at your present post a few days longer [not having it in my power at present to releive you]. I am sensible of the disadvantages which must, of course, accrue to you and many of your Battalion, by being from home the approaching season, but when you consider our situation and that I only want you to stay until the troops (now on their march from Philadelphia) arrive, I flatter myself I need not add a word more to induce you to this necessary step, than that your marching the first of April will leave that useful post entirely defenceless.

If you would agree to remain eight days longer, I am satisfied it will answer

every purpose, and I think cannot materially injure you. If you find the men are dissatisfied, go at the time appointed. You will please order the arms etc to be delivered to the persons appointed by Lord Stirling to receive them

I am Sir, Your most obdt Servt

GEORGE WASHINGTON

To Col Rumsey

### NOTES

#### LETTER OF MARTHA WASHINGTON

The original of the following letter is in the collection of Mr. Curtis Guild, of Boston :

Mt Vernon Aug 28 1762

My dear Nancy

I had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 25 of July just as I was setting out on a visit to Mr Washington in Westmoreland where I spent a weak very agreabley I carred my little patt with me and left Jacky at home for a trial to see how well I could stay without him though we ware gon but wone fortnight I was quite impatiant to get home. If I at aney time heard the doggs barke or a noise out, I thought thair was a person sent for me. I often fancied he was sick or some accident had happened to him so that I think it is impossible for me to leave him as long as Mr Washington must stay when he comes down—If nothing happens I promise myself the pleasure of coming down in in the spring as it will be a healthy time of the year. I am very much obliged to you for your kind invatation and assure yourself nothing but my childrens interest should prevent me the satisfaiton of

seeing you and my good Friends I am always thinking of and wish it was possible for me to spend more of my time amongst. It gave me great sattisfaction to hear of your dear billys recovery which I hope will be a lasting wone ; you mentioned in your letter that Col More intended hear but we have seen nothing of him. We heard at Fredericksburg that he and my brother had been thaire but no higher. I should been very glad to seen them heare

We all enjoy very good health at preasent, I think patty seems to be quite well now, Jacky is very thin but in good health and learn thaire books very fast. I am sorry to hear you are unwell but hope your complaint is slight. I have no news worth telling you. We are daly expect the kind laydes of Maryland to visit us. I must begg you will not lett the fright you had given you prevent you comeing to see me again—If I could leave my children in as good care as you can I would never let Mr W——n come down without me—Please to give my love to Miss Judy and your little babys and make my best compliments to Mr Bassett and Mrs Dawson

I am with sincere regard

dear sister

yours most affectionately

MARTHA WASHINGTON

[Mrs. Bassett]

#### WASHINGTON'S FIGURE

The following letter appeared in the New York Evening Post :

Custis, in his "Recollections of Washington," says :

"Of the portraits of Washington, the most of them give to his person a fulness that it did not



possess, together with an abdominal enlargement greater than in the life, while his matchless limbs have in but two instances been faithfully portrayed—in the equestrian portrait by Trumbull, of 1790, a copy of which is in the City Hall of New York, and in an engraving by Loisler, from a painting by Cogniet, French artists of distinguished merit. The latter is not an original painting, the head being from Stuart, but the delineation of the limbs is the most perfect extant."

About fifty years ago the writer of this, the grandson of an officer of the revolution, called to pay his respects to that gallant and patriotic old soldier, Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, of Litchfield, who was one of Washington's aids during most of the war. Of course, the conversation very naturally turned upon the scenes and events of those trying days, Valley Forge, André's execution, and the like. Colonel Trumbull's portrait of the Chief being mentioned, Tallmadge said, laughingly, that the legs in that picture were painted from his. He said that the demands of the service made it very inconvenient for General Washington to give as much time in sitting as the painter required, that it was frequently remarked how much his legs were like those of the General, that Trumbull pronounced them an exact pattern, and so, with Washington's consent he served as a substitute, and thus the artist was able to take all the time he needed to perfect that part of the portrait, which has always been greatly admired. J. L.

#### WASHINGTON PORTRAITS

I am not familiar with the history of Portraits of Washington, and perhaps that is the reason why I was somewhat surprised, in looking over a lot of old almanacs in my possession, to find what is

undoubtedly an excellent wood-cut of Washington, resembling the Gilbert Stuart portrait of 1790, though the face is turned in the opposite direction, and in some minor respects the likeness differs from the Stuart portrait. While the engraving appears to have been remarkably good for that day in America, the printing is poor, as might be expected from the paper and the weak presses of the time. The picture is on the last page of "Greenleaf's New York, Connecticut & New Jersey Almanack, for the year of our Lord 1801. Brooklyn printed and sold wholesale and retail by T. Kirk." It is followed by an

#### ODE TO

#### Gen. Washington

Point of that Pyramid whose solid base  
Rests firmly founded on a Nation's trust,  
Which while the splendid column sinks in dust,  
Shall stand sublime, and fill its ample space;  
ELECTED CHIEF OF FREEMEN: Greater Far  
Than kings whose noble parts are fix'd by birth!  
Nam'd by thy country's voice, for long-try'd worth  
Her crown in Peace, as once her shield in War.  
Deign, WASHINGTON, to hear a British lyre  
That, ardent, greet thee with applausive lays,  
And to the Patriot-hero homage pays.  
O would the Muse his mortal strains inspire,  
That, high above all Greek or Roman fame  
Might sound to heroes unborn thy purer nobler  
[name!]  
*Paterson, N. J.* W. N.

—*London Letter, September 30, 1780, by the Grantham Packet from Falmouth*—  
The whole length picture of General Washington for the French King gives a sort of presentiment of the surrender of the whole continent to the power of France. This American Gladiator has surrendered himself upon canvas; and the French army, as soon as they can

get a secure footing on the Continent, will surrender himself in PROPRIA PERSONA or lay his already distressed country under such contributions as shall make his Christian Majesty ample amends for the expence he has been at to complete their subjugation under the appearance of supporting them in their liberties or rather in their infamous rebellion against the Mother Country.—*Rivington's Royal Gazette* Dec. 6, 1780

EDITOR

## WASHINGTON EPITHETS

*The Father of his Country*—This epithet seems to have been applied to the tyrant before it was given to Washington by popular voice. On page 183 of Hanway's *Soldiers Faithful Friend* printed at London 1776 there is a vignette of George the Third; the head of the King is enclosed in a wreath of laurel and surrounded with the legend G. III THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY

*The Deliverer of America*—I recall the impressions which I received during the short stay I made in the family of the Deliverer of America. [At New Windsor in 1781]—*Dumas' Memoirs of his own time* I 35

*A Polyphemus*—Our old acquaintance Mr Washington we learn is approaching us *Polyphemus* like, with hasty and ample strides, his dire intents (supported by myriads of heroes and in his train a thirteen inch mortar drawn by eight charming lively oxen) are given out to be another coup upon Powles Hook. His last halt was at Paramus some thirty miles off—*Rivingtons Royal Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1780

EDITOR

*The Atlas of America*—Among the papers of Doctor Solomon Drowne of Providence is preserved an interesting letter, of which the following is a translation. The writer, the Chevalier de Silly, was a Second Lieutenant in the Regiment of Bourbonnais one of those which followed de Rochambeau from Newport to Yorktown.

HENRY T. DROWNE

New York

At Newport the 15 March 1881

I found myself my dear Drowne on duty all of last week which is the cause of my delay in replying to your obliging letter; add to this the arrival of the celebrated Washington the Atlas of your country. Our army received him with the marks of distinction due to his rank and to his personal qualities; we had not eyes enough to see him with. Man is born with a tendency to pride and the further he progresses in his career in an elevated rank the more his self love nourishes this vice in him but so far from this Washington although born with every superior quality adds to them an imposing modesty which will always cause him to be admired by those who have the good fortune to see him; as for esteem he has already drawn to himself that of all Europe even in the heart of his enemies and ours 'tandem oculi nostri, videuntur honorem et virtutem.'

Enfin nos yeux ont vu  
L'honneur et la vertu

At length our eyes have seen honor and virtue. After General Washington she who has attracted my attention was the amiable Sally Church; I am in despair that I could not be with her as often as

I could have wished (The King's service goes before every thing) Moreover John Greene a young companion without a touch of the gout has always faithfully accompanied her.

Write an immediate answer my dear Drown inform me whether you understand my letter— I am with the greatest friendship your affectionate

SILLY

*Sous Officier*

I pray you to give my compliments to your wife. My Brother is your Servant—  
To Mister Solomon Drown

Doctor at Providence

#### WASHINGTON EULOGIES

The perusal of the very attractive Washington numbers of the Magazine have led me to think about the large number of sermons that have been preached, the discourses delivered, and the eulogies pronounced on Washington, during the years that have elapsed since his death. Not long since I made a somewhat careful examination of one hundred and thirty of these sermons, etc., bound up in five volumes. Among them were productions of the pens of the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., President of the College of New Jersey, Gouverneur Morris of New York, President Dwight of Yale College, Gen. Henry Lee, the Hon. Fisher Ames, the Rev. Dr. Spring of Newburyport, Judge Joseph Story, the Hon. Solomon Lincoln, and the Hon. B. R. Curtis. In one of the volumes referred to I found the Latin address of President Willard of Harvard College, delivered Feb. 21, 1800, also John Hancock's copy of Thomas Paine's Eulogy, the handwriting of the owner being in the bold charac-

ters in which Hancock wrote his signature to the Declaration of Independence. Nearly all the sermons were preached by New England clergymen. There is one preached in Baltimore and one in Charleston, S. C. A favorite text selected for several of the sermons was the following: "Know ye not that there is a Prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" In several of them there is drawn a parallel between Moses and Washington. I find also in quite a number of them a reference to what was said by President Davies in his sermon before Capt. Overton's independent company of volunteers raised in Hanover County, Va., soon after the defeat of Braddock. "I cannot but hope Providence has preserved him (i. e., Washington) in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." In one of the volumes is a copy of the proceedings at the centennial celebration of the birth of Washington, Daniel Webster being the president of the day, and making on the occasion one of the most eloquent of his speeches. I count up also a few Masonic addresses. In one delivered by B. B. French it is stated that Washington, assisted by his fellow Masons, laid the corner-stone of the Capitol in 1793. When the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol was laid, June 24, 1851, Mr. French says that he wore, as a Mason, the same apron which Washington wore on the occasion alluded to. He also says that the apron was made and presented to Washington by the lady of Lafayette. I might refer to Elegies and Odes, and original Hymns, and at least one Acrostic, which I find bound up in these volumes. Some of them are curious speci-

mens of what, no doubt, their authors regarded as high flights of poetic genius.

Providence

J. C. S.

#### WASHINGTON EPITAPHS

*Brownsville, Pa.*—The note in the Magazine for August, 1879 (III. 513), under the caption of Washington Epitaphs, Brownsville, Pa., contains a few errors which I am sure no one would be more willing to have corrected than I. C.

Three supposed nephews or near relatives of General Washington lie buried at Brownsville, none of whom were poisoned by their slaves.

The history of their connection with Brownsville is very interesting, and as it is worthy of permanent record, and, so far as I know, has not been recorded elsewhere, I give it as I have heard it from aged and reliable citizens of Brownsville. Early in 1818 two brothers, *Archibald* and *John H. Washington*, from Southampton County, Virginia; a cousin, *Edward B. Mechin*, from South Carolina; and a Mr. Atkinson or Atchinson, the first three said to have been nephews of General Washington, left the State of Virginia with about 100 slaves (the number is variously stated by old residents as from 50 to 100). Mechin was 28, Archibald Washington 33, and John H. Washington, 38 years of age.

The main facts of their history are derived from J. H. Rigdon, Esq., for many years a Justice of the Peace in Brownsville, aged 86 years; Mr. Joshua Gibbons, aged 80 years; Mr. Joseph Graff, aged 72 years; and Mrs. Samuel Page, aged about 79 years—very respectable citizens of Brownsville, whose memory is still

strong, and whose word is reliable, and who were living at Brownsville in 1818. Squire Rigdon and Mr. Gibbons state that these four slave-owners were emigrating to Kentucky with their family slaves for *permanent settlement* there. Mr. Graff and Mrs. Page state that they were "slave-drivers" who had gathered up these slaves from the jails and markets to sell again in the West. And yet these last witnesses state that the "slave-drivers" brought slaves through Brownsville almost invariably *tied or handcuffed*, corralled together like horses, but that these slaves were brought here *unbound*, and were allowed by their masters the liberty of the town, and were well known by name to all the inhabitants before they were taken away. Mrs. Page, who was a Quakeress, says the slaves were remarkably orderly, well-behaved negroes, and apparently attached to their masters, so much so that no one who knew the circumstances of their masters' death credited any report of their having been poisoned.

At that time Brownsville was still at the head waters of navigation for the western country. Nearly all the emigration westward made this the point whence it took boats for places in the Ohio and Mississippi Valley. To this point, then still known as "Redstone Old Fort," Washington directed his march in 1753. Here George Roger Clark embarked his small force for the Illinois country in 1778. Here St. Clair and Wayne took boats for their campaign against the Indians.

These four slave-owners reached Brownsville about the latter part of March, 1818. They were evidently men

of means, as they stopped with their slaves at the large stone and rough-cast hotel, now standing at the top of Main street, and known far and wide as the "Workman Hotel," where Atkinson and the slaves remained for three months, until flat boats could be built for their embarkation, boarding the slaves in the hotel, and, as Mr. Rigdon says, paying all their bills. The hotel was then kept by the widow of John Beckley, who was drowned in the Monongahela in 1817.

When they arrived at Brownsville the two Washingtons and Mechin were suffering with a low fever contracted in their journey. They placed themselves at once under the treatment of Dr. Jesse Pennill, a Quaker physician of skill. Their disease rapidly developed into what was then commonly called the "jail fever," now recognized as the "*typhus fever*." Dr. Pennill was himself soon attacked by the same disease, and was obliged to give up his patients to attend to his own health.

Dr. Henry W. Story, also a physician of experience, was then employed. Mr. Rigdon assisted in nursing the three white patients, and is *positive* that Dr. Story pronounced the disease, which so rapidly swept these young men into the grave, a *malignant type of typhus fever*. Mr. Graff says that Mr. Underwood, who laid the bodies out, took him into the room to see them, *previously washing his face in whiskey to prevent infection*. Mr. Graff also states that *fifteen* of the slaves died of the same disease at the same time as George Graff (his father), and William Edmundson made the coffins, and his father's books show this fact, and he remembers seeing the par-

ties buried. Moreover, these three witnesses state that no indications appeared, no suspicions were held, and no charge was made at the time that the victims of the fever were in any way foully dealt with, or that the slaves had poisoned any of them. Every thing that human skill and money could do for their recovery was done without avail. Archibald Washington died April 10th, John H. Washington April 13th, and Mechen April 15th. It was nearly, if not quite, three months after they arrived here that Atkinson, who alone survived the fever, having finished building his boats, embarked the remaining slaves for Kentucky, taking with him for assistance Mr. Jacob Copeland of Brownsville. Before reaching Wellsburg, Virginia, on the Ohio River, Mr. Copeland was also seized with the typhus fever, and died at Wellsburg. Not until many years afterwards was it rumored that these four white persons had been poisoned by the slaves.

These Washingtons, who themselves claimed to be related to the President, were evidently men of respectability, and it was thought by some at the time very proper that their remains should be buried in the Episcopal graveyard, then the largest and most respectable of the three graveyards in Brownsville. But this was not allowed. Brownsville was at this time a town of about 150 houses, and settled largely by members of the Society of Friends. There were then *in and about* the town *four* Friends meeting houses, and *in* the town three Protestant churches. The conscientious opposition of the Society of Friends to the institution of slavery is well known.



The Quaker citizens of Brownsville were very much exercised over the presence of the four slave-owners and their slaves in their midst, and a spirit of antagonism toward the masters was quickly stirred up by one Captain Basil Brashears, a very excellent man in other respects, who kept a hotel about 75 feet below the Workman Hotel on the Main Street. When the young men died, according to the evidence of the witnesses mentioned, Brashears succeeded in having them refused burial in the Episcopal and Methodist graveyards for the reason that they were *slave-owners*, and they were consequently buried in an old graveyard, at that time generally used as a Potter's field. Before 1800 Thomas Brown, who died 1797, or Basil Brown, his brother, both of whom owned the town-site in part, and from whom this *historic* spot derived its very *unhistoric* name, donated to the town for a graveyard a piece of ground lying on the site of old Fort Burd. There Thomas Brown himself lies buried. In 1818 it was used miscellaneously for whites, blacks, and strangers. Here the bodies of the three nephews of Washington were consigned to the earth. Some years after their death their relatives sent money to Mr. Valentine Geisey, a prominent merchant of Brownsville, to erect stones over their graves. Mr. Geisey enclosed the three graves with a high brick wall, in one side of which were set three gray sandstone slabs, about two feet by four, bearing the following inscriptions, which differ somewhat from those noted by Mr. Craig:

"In | memory | of | Archibald Washington | a native of Virga | he was born

in the County | of Southampton on the 25th | of Febry A D 1785, and departed | this life the 10th of April | 1818."

"In | memory | of | John H Washington | a native of Virga | he was born in County | of Southampton the 8th of | June A D. 1780 and departed | this life the 13th of April | 1818."

"In | memory | of | Edward B Mechen | who died at this place | April the 15th A D. 1818 | aged 28 years and 21 days | He was a native of S. C. |"

The old graveyard has long since fallen into decay. The brick wall around the graves of the three nephews of Washington has disappeared, torn down by vandal hands. The property is now enclosed by Mr. J. W. Jeffries, without a deed or title, but with the tacit consent of the Council. The few old tombstones, instead of being preserved upright on the spot where the graves were made, now form the pavement from the dwelling house of Mr. Jeffries to his stable, with the single exception of the stone which marked the resting place of Thomas Brown, which Mr. Brown's heirs have required to be restored to its place, and which, inscribed as Mr. Craig notes it, stands against the garden fence of the adjoining lot, which Mr. Jeffries owns.

Whose sons these three nephews of Gen. Washington were I have not been able to learn. Sparks gives the list of Gen. Washington's brothers and sisters, but not of *their* issue. Wells's Wahington Genealogy does not contain their names. What subsequently became of the slaves is not known, but the fact of these three respectable gentlemen having been refused proper burial on account of their

being at the time of death slave-owners is beyond dispute. The charge against their slaves of having poisoned them, though repeated time and again for the past many years, and generally believed, rests on no evidence, but is a later day suspicion, which the testimony of living persons refutes.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN  
*Brownsville, Pa.*

*Westmoreland, Virginia* — The last volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (XVII 1880) contains an account, by Charles C. Perkins, of a visit made by the Secretary of State General Sherman and himself to the birthplace of Washington in Westmoreland county. About a half mile to the northward of the ruins of the old homestead is the old burial place of the Washingtons. The following are given from the grave-stones :

"Here lyeth the body of | JOHN WASHINGTON, Eldest | son to Captain Lawrence | Washington, who departed | this life ye 10th of January 1696\* | Aged 10 years and 6 months, | Also Mildred WASHINGTON | Eldest daughter to said | Washington, who departed ye 1st of August 1696 | Aged 5 months | "

\* It is uncertain whether 1690 or 1696.

"Here lyes ye body of JANE | wife of Augustine Washington | Born at Pope's Creek Virginia | Westmoreland ye 24th of Xber | 1699 & died ye 24th of 9ber 1729 | Who left behind her two sons | & one daughter."

Those curious in Washington Genealogy will do well to consult Mr. Perkins' account of the visit, the object of which was to determine how the meagre appro-

priation, placed by Congress at the disposition of the Secretary of State for the preservation of these national relics from further degradation, may be best applied.

EDITOR

#### WASHINGTON'S HEAD QUARTERS DURING THE REVOLUTION

*The Berkeley House ; Keith's House ; House near Coryell's Ferry — Bucks County, Pennsylvania*—This county has the honor of containing three old-time dwellings in which Washington Quarters during the revolutionary war when commanding the Continental Army. They are all standing, inhabited, and in good state of preservation. The first of these stands within the limits of Morrisville, opposite Trenton, and not much, if any, over half a mile west of the Delaware. When Washington crossed the Delaware with the rear guard of his army, Sunday, December 8th, 1776, he took up his quarters at the country house of Mrs. Berkley, while the troops were stationed opposite the crossing. This dwelling is what is now called "Summer Side," a fine old country seat, owned and occupied by John H. Osborne.

The dwelling, built about 1750, and in fine state of preservation, occupies a commanding situation, with a farm of 162 acres belonging to it, and is within the site once selected by Congress for the Capital of the United States. In this house, George Clymer, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, lived and died, and it afterwards belonged to the Waddells. Local tradition, seldom at fault in such cases, points this house out as Washington's quarters immediately after he crossed the river, and mem-

tos of the troops have been found in the adjacent fields.

After Washington had placed his troops in position to guard the fords of the Delaware and prevent the enemy crossing, the headquarters of the army, and the quarters of the Commander-in-Chief's most trusted lieutenants, were fixed at farm houses in the same neighborhood in Upper Makefield township, where they were always within easy communication.

Washington occupied the dwelling of William Keith, on the road from Brownsburg to the Eagle Tavern; Greene was at Robert Merrick's, a few hundred yards away across the fields and meadows; Sullivan was at John Hayhurst's; and Knox and Hamilton were at Dr. Chapman's over Jericho Hill. The troops, in the vicinity, were encamped in sheltered places along the creeks, and not far removed from the river. We have no doubt the position for head-quarters was selected because of its sheltered situation, its nearness to the river, and its proximity to Jericho Mountain, from the top of which, when the leaves are off the trees, signals may be seen a long way up and down the river. Here Washington was near the upper fords of the river, at which it was supposed the enemy would attempt to cross, and within a half hour's ride of Newtown, the depot of supplies.

The three old mansions, in which Washington, Greene, and Knox quartered, are still standing in a good state of preservation, and their occupancy is too well-attested to be disputed. I visited these dwellings a few years ago, accompanied by a friend familiar with

the locality. The Keith mansion, which we first visited, has undergone no material change, except from the tooth of time. Then, as now, the main building was a two-story, pointed-stone house, 24 by 28 feet, built by William Keith in 1763. The pine door, in two folds, set in a solid oaken frame, was garnished with a wooden lock, 14 by 8 inches, the same which locked out intruders when Washington occupied the house. The interior, finished in yellow pine, remains unchanged, and one room has never been despoiled by the painter's brush. Washington probably occupied the main front room down stairs for an office, and the one over it for his chamber. How oft he ascended and descended the stairway, between the two rooms, with a heavy heart, especially while making ready for Trenton! The same roof, now covered with tin, is on the house. At that time the front yard was enclosed by a stone wall. The property, containing 240 acres, and purchased by William Keith, of the London Company, nearly a century and a half ago, has never been out of the family. The situation, on the south side of Jericho Mountain, is retired, and pleasantly exposed to the southern sun. The Merrick house, a quarter of a mile away to the east, on the road from Newtown to Neely's mill, a pointed-stone dwelling, 20 by 20 feet, and kitchen adjoining, was bought by Samuel Merrick in 1773, and now belongs to Edward, a descendant. When Greene occupied it, the first floor was divided into three rooms, now all thrown into one, and the family lived in the log end on the west. As the house was not then finished, the General had the walls

of the rooms down stairs painted in a tasteful manner, with a picture of the rising sun over the fireplace. At that time Samuel Merrick had a family of half-grown children, who were deeply impressed with passing events, and their descendants are full of traditions of the times. Greene purchased the confidence of Hannah, a young daughter, by the gift of a small tea canister, which was kept many years in the family. They tell how the Rhode Island blacksmith lived on the fat of the land while quartered at the house of their ancestor, devouring his flock of turkeys, and monopolizing his only fresh milk cow, besides eating her calf. At the last supper which Washington took with Greene at the Merrick house, at which she was present, the daughter Hannah waited upon the table, and kept the plate from which the Commander-in-chief ate as a memento of the great occasion. The Hayhurst house, where Sullivan quartered, was on the adjoining farm to Keith's, where this plain member of the Wrightstown meeting lived with his family of five small children. The Chapman mansion, the quarters of General Knox, and now owned by Edward Johnson, is on the north side of Jericho Mountain, a mile from Brownsburg. It is in excellent condition, and is the best house of the Revolutionary period I have seen in the county. Knox occupied the first floor of the east end, then divided into two rooms, but now one, 25 by 17 feet. Alexander Hamilton, a youthful captain of artillery, lay sick in the back room. The late Peter Cattell, who lived and died on an adjoining farm, then a boy of twelve, used to

speak of seeing Washington at Knox's quarters.

In August, 1777, the Continental army tarried thirteen days on the Neshaminy hills, Bucks County, on the York road from Coryell's Ferry, now New Hope, until it should receive notice of the destruction of the British fleet which had recently sailed from New York. During this time Washington quartered in the stone house not far from the north end of the bridge over the Neshaminy, and on the left side of the York road going south. It is now owned by the estate of the late John Bothwell and by one of his sons, and is a comfortable house of the Revolutionary period. The whipping post was erected on the opposite side of the road. While Washington quartered in this house Lafayette reported to him for service in the Continental army; and in it was held the first council of war at which Lafayette had a seat. The troops were encamped around Headquarters, within half a mile or so, on both banks of the Neshaminy. The army marched hence the 22d of August, through Philadelphia, and then to engage the enemy on the field of Brandywine.

W. H. H. DAVIS

*Doylestown, Pa.*

*The Whitmarsh Headquarters*—In the notice of the Elmar house, February number, 1879, of the Magazine (III. 158), the editor, following Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, II. 321, assigns the ownership of the house in which Washington established his headquarters to one Elmar. General Reed, writing to President Wharton on the 4th November, 1777, dates his letter

"Head Quarters at George Emlen's near Whitemarsh Church." In this letter he says that "the meadows were entirely overflowed so that in retiring the guards the men marched near *breast* high in water." Reed's Life of Reed, I 335

EDITOR

*Pannebecker's Mills*—Samuel Pannebecker, a Pennsylvania Mennonite, owned by descent the falling mills on the Perkiemen Creek on the Skippack road. It was one of the best known points in this section of the country. After the defeat of the Brandywine on the 11th September, 1777, and the surprise of Wayne at Paoli, and Washington's unsuccessful manœuvres to prevent Howe's passage of the Schuylkill and cover Philadelphia, the Chief came down the road from Potts' Grove with his army of ten thousand men, and encamped here on Friday, the 26th September. Here, on Sunday, the 28th, he heard of the defeat of Burgoyne at Stillwater, and the general orders, announcing the glorious news to the army was dated from this spot. The mills are now the village of Shwencksville.

EDITOR

#### HOUSES VISITED BY WASHINGTON

*The Van Winkle House, now Passaic Hotel, Paterson, N. J.*—Surgeon Thacher and the Marquis de Chastellux describe a man with an enormous head, who lived near the Passaic Falls, N. J. His head was so large and so heavy that it had to be supported by a framework at the back of his chair, contrived for the purpose, and he was unable to move without assistance. Washington called to see him once, and in the course of

conversation asked him whether he was a Whig or a Tory, to which he replied, "Well, I do not take an *active* part on either side." The name of this human curiosity was Peter Van Winkle, an uncle of the late United States Senator Peter G. Van Winkle, of West Virginia. The family occupied a stone house, still standing, at the foot of Bank street, Paterson, N. J., and of late years known as the Passaic Hotel.

W. N.

*Paterson, N. J.*

*Garrison's, on the Wesel road, Paterson, N. J.*—The "traditional" Washington was so faultless, that it is a positive relief to hear of his making a promise which he never kept. Mrs. Gerrebrandt Van Houten (*née* Garrison), of Paterson, N. J., deceased many years ago, used to say that when she was a child a party of American soldiers were encamped on her father's farm, on the Wesel road, just below Paterson. Washington frequently stopped at her father's house, and would take her on his knee, and when he left that neighborhood promised to send her a "fine doll, with big black eyes, just like her own." But though she looked long and anxiously for the fulfilment of the promise, the "fine doll, with big black eyes" never came.

W. N.

*Paterson, N. J.*

*The Indian Queen, Elizabeth, N. J.*—Somewhere about 1787-9 General Washington, on one of his journeys to and from New York, is remembered to have stopped at this once noted old New Jersey hostelry. In the Revolution time, as well as before and many years



after, it was kept by Mr. Samuel Smith, a citizen of good family and social standing. A venerable lady, now in her 97th or 98th year, viz., Mrs. James Barnes, the widow of a Presbyterian clergyman, who has lived the greater part of her life in the State of Kentucky, her present residence, told the writer, when visiting this city a few years ago, that she had a distinct and very pleasant recollection of seeing the General, in her young childhood, at the period above mentioned, in her father's house, the "Indian Queen" tavern. As she was playing about the room she attracted the attention of Washington, who kindly caressed her and patted her on the head. And thus this great and good man left his memory lastingly impressed upon her heart.

The old tavern, now encased in another of much larger dimensions, viz., the "Sheridan House," of which it is the kernel, is still standing in the city of Elizabeth.

WILLIAM HALL

*Governor Belcher's house, Elizabeth, N. J.*—This ancient private mansion, then the residence of the distinguished patriot and former New York citizen, William Peartree Smith, was once honored with the presence of Washington, and in an early part of the Revolutionary Septennial. A record of its then worthy occupant and of his "Port Royal Smith" family may be found in the January, 1879, number of the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record." On the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to Elisha Boudinot, subsequently Judge Boudinot of Newark, and brother of Col. Elias Boudinot, President of the first Continen-

tal Congress, the ceremony taking place Oct. 4, 1778, Gen. Washington was present as an invited guest, and Alexander Hamilton as groomsman. An alarm of a raid by the British was given while they were in the house, which Hamilton was sent out to inquire about, but which proved to be groundless. The facts here mentioned were communicated to the writer several years since by E. J. C. Atterbury, Esq., of Trenton, N. J., a descendant of Peartree Smith. They have been more recently repeated by ex-President Maclean, in his elegant and elaborate History of the College of New Jersey. This ancient house, subsequently the residence of Governor Aaron Ogden, is still standing and in good condition. It is the property of ex-Congressman Clark.

WILLIAM HALL

*The Doremus House, Pequonnock, N. J.*—This was near the house where Washington had his Pompton Headquarters, in 1781.—There is now there, in decay, and there was then, in its prime, a stone farm-house, which was the home of Thomas Doremus, of the old Holland race. He was the grandfather of the venerable Thomas C. Doremus of this city, one of our oldest merchants. The aged father of this well-known citizen was wont to speak, and with great delight, of General Washington's stopping and lodging over night occasionally, in his boyhood days, in this, his old paternal stone house. These visits were stamped on his memory by and with several interesting little particulars.

WILLIAM HALL

*Beaverwick, N. J.*, was a famous family mansion in the vicinity of Pompton, which Washington visited occasionally, and where he once met several distinguished French officers from Rochambeau's fleet and army.

WILLIAM HALL

*The Burr Tavern, Warren, Connecticut* — Washington stopped there, and was in the habit of promenading the walk in front.

Newport

J. E. M.

*The Shaw House, New London* — In the February, 1879, number of the Magazine of American History mention was made of this house, visited by Washington in 1776.

In Starr's Centennial Sketch of the Town of New London occurs the following passage, with additional details of the event :

"Washington was the guest of Capt. Nathaniel Shaw, at his stone house in Bank street, and some of the members of the Council of Safety of Connecticut, and conferred with them respecting the future operations against the enemy.

The Chamber which Washington occupied that night at Mr. Shaw's has acquired from the circumstance an enduring interest. The owners of the mansion have endeavored to keep it unchanged in appearance. No alteration has been made in size or by way of adornment. The bed curtains and the other furniture are the same. It looks now as it did then.

Lafayette visited it in his famous tour. It was then owned by the Hon. Elias Perkins."

EDITOR

## EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

The New York Historical Society held its annual meeting on the evening of the first Tuesday in January. The officers were re-elected. Among them Mr. Charles O'Connor, whose resignation, however, was later accepted, upon which the rules were suspended by unanimous consent, and he was elected an Honorary member. We regret to announce that this, our distinguished citizen, has changed his residence from New York to Nantucket for the benefit of the sea air. He has been for thirty-three years an active member of the institution, and has bestowed upon it many valuable gifts.

A paper was read by General J. Watts de Peyster on the battle or affair of King's Mountain. This was essentially the paper printed in the December number of this Magazine. General de Peyster assumed that this skirmish was the turning point of the Revolutionary war; this is to exaggerate the importance of what was after all merely the punishment of a band of marauders by the yeomanry of the country. The effect of the summary measures taken by the Whig leaders to chastise the men who had kept the loyal districts of the Carolinas in alarm was undoubtedly great; but the affair, or battue as General de Peyster properly terms it, had neither tactical or strategic importance.

The Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., held its sixty-eighth annual meeting on the 21st of October last. The semi-annual report of the council, while alluding to the inefficiency of the Publishing Fund, notices a reasonable in-

crease in the Library ; among the volumes added are the rare books selected at the Brinley sale under the provisions of the family of this distinguished collector. The recent enlargement of the Library Building has greatly increased its efficiency and use.

The 30th Anniversary of the First Woman's Rights Convention, in which the well-known advocates, male and female, of Woman Suffrage were present, was held at Worcester at the same time. This cause is making rapid progress. Women have full suffrage in Wyoming and Colorado, and school suffrage in twelve states. The ballot is now earnestly called for.

The Virginia Historical Society have taken possession of their new rooms in the Westmoreland Club House at Richmond, and already make an attractive exhibit in their valuable collections of books, manuscripts, portraits, and relics. Its roll of membership includes the names of some of the ripest scholars in the country. Its library reaches 10,000 volumes. It deserves and should receive the cordial support of the city and the state. The Southern Historical Society has its office on the library floor of the state capitol at Richmond. The Rev. J. Williams Jones, its efficient Secretary, has general charge of its affairs. The chief object of the Society is to collect documents and papers relating to the late civil war. It also gathers material connected with the general history of the southern states. Its organ is the monthly magazine, "Southern Historical Society

Papers," now in its sixth year, and of acknowledged value.

The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, met on the first Tuesday in January, when the usual table business was transacted, and Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta, Ga., was selected as the orator for the annual meeting, which will be held on the 14th February. The reports of this Society appear in The Morning News of Savannah.

On the evening of the 21st of December Henry Cruger Van Schaack of Manlius, N. Y., read a paper before the Chicago Historical Society: "A Vindication of Mrs. General Benedict Arnold from the charge of complicity in her husband's treason." He charged upon Burr the responsibility for this accusation, and attributed it to his vindictiveness because his advances were repelled by her. At the same meeting a model in wood of the Old Block House at Fort Dearborn, was presented by H. H. Hurlbut, who read a paper on the romantic incidents connected with it.

A Pioneer Celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Arrival of the Grandville Colony, was celebrated at Grandville, Ohio, on the 13th of November, 1880, when a paper was read by the Hon. Isaac Smuckers. The scope of the address was limited to an account of the settlers who occupied the territory, now known as Grandville Township, prior to the arrival of the New England Colony in the autumn of 1805. This sketch is a valuable addition to that of the same Township read by Captain M. M.

Munson on a similar occasion at Grandville, in January, 1868.

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The Pioneer Society of Licking County, Ohio, published its report of Pioneer notes and Memorial sketches for September, 1880, in the Newark American of October 1st, which includes some brief memoirs, among which is noticeable that of its recent President, Hon. P. N. O'Banon, who died on the 13th of September upon the farm on which he was born, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He had filled many offices of trust.

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The regular monthly meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held on the 14th December. Only routine business was transacted.

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There was a large meeting of the Long Island Historical Society in the church opposite its new building on the evening of the 28th of December. The new home of this active organization has been substantially completed at a cost of over \$135,000. A subscription is rapidly advancing towards a sufficient sum to equip the building with its library and museum for future usefulness. A paper was read by Judge John H. Dillon on the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall, or the Excellencies and Defects of our Laws. A description was given of Lincoln's and Gray's Inns, the Inner and Middle Temples and Westminster Hall, which form the judicial university of England.

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The Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., held a meeting on the 14th of Decem-

ber in memory of the late Jones Very of Salem. William P. Andrews read a paper on the Life, Works and Spiritual Experience of Mr. Very, which he illustrated by extracts from his poems. Glowing tributes were paid to him as an Essayist and Poet.

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We learn from the Savannah Morning News that a Youths' Historical Society has been formed in that city. They propose to meet their expenses by public entertainments of a varied literary and historical character. This is an excellent idea, which may be followed to advantage in other cities.

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The Detroit Free Press of the 19th of December contains a pleasing paper on the Legends of Detroit, in which the historical importance and souvenirs of Bois Blanc Island are described. It was on this commanding site that Tecumseh and his warriors awaited the issue of the battle of Lake Erie in 1813. The romance of White Fawn, the pride of the Hurons, is also given.

In the same issue, under the head of Historical Notes, No. 13, will be found an account of the chronological landmarks of this region.

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The recent death of John C. Calhoun, a grandson of the famous senator from South Carolina, is recorded in a late number of the Savannah Morning News. After the late war he drifted to California, where, after various experiences, he became an inmate of the insane asylum of Stockton, and was drowned some time in December, in the vicinity of San Francisco.

The old Provost Homestead in the town of Pelham, Westchester County, New York State, was totally burned on the 30th of December, with many articles of historic value. The Provost family hold their land under a patent granted by the English crown. They sided with England in the Revolutionary struggle.

The unveiling of the statue erected in memory of General Philip Kearny in December, was the occasion of a general holiday in Newark. The statue is a full length life size, in green bronze, standing on a square bronze pedestal. On the south panel is inscribed: "Philip Kearny, Major General United States Volunteers; born, June 2d, 1815. Killed in Battle at Chantilly, Va., 1st December, 1862." On the north panel: "Erected by authority of the State of New Jersey, 1880." Generals Grant and Sherman, and Governor McClellan were present. The oration was by the Hon. Courtland Parker. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the assemblage was immense.

In the streets of Savannah are testimonials to the memory of General Nathaniel Green, the hero of the Southern campaign, 1780-81, and of Pulaski, who fell in the attack of the allies upon Savannah in 1779. Two years ago an association was formed in the same city to erect a testimonial in memory of Sergeant William Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, who fell on the ramparts of Savannah the same day that Pulaski gave up his life.

The plans of the New York Chamber of Commerce for the erection of a

statue of Washington on the steps of the Sub-Treasury are rapidly progressing. Money has been offered in such large sums that it will be necessary to limit the amount of subscriptions in order to admit of a greater number of participants in the patriotic work.

The Stony Point Memorial Association, the preliminary meeting of which was held at the rooms of the Magazine of American History on the 18th of September last, will shortly complete its organization.

The movement is in charge of Mr. Henry Whittemore, Secretary of the Rockland County Historical Society. It is proposed to commemorate, by a monument, the victory of Anthony Wayne, 16th July, 1779. The organization will include officers to represent each of the states which had troops in the engagement.

To promote the work of the Saratoga Monument Association, Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, Chairman of the Committee of Commemoration, has contributed to it the plates of her history of Burgoyne's Campaign, and of the accompanying maps.

The volume is for sale by Thomas W. Johnson, agent for the Memorial Committee, No. 673 Broadway, N. Y., for one dollar. The entire proceeds are to go to the purposes of the Association.

The joint committee of Congress has finally concluded a plan for the Yorktown celebration. The ceremonies in which the United States authorities will participate, will be limited to three days.



The arrangements, to which the Army and Navy Departments contribute their experience and co-operation, are not completed.

The French Government will be officially invited to send representatives. The oration will be delivered by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts; the poem, by James Barron Hope, of Virginia.

The original resolution of Congress, 29th of October, 1781, for the erection of a monument, was:

*Resolved*, That the United States in Congress assembled, will cause to be erected at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian Majesty; and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France; to his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commander of the auxiliary troops of his most Christian Majesty in America, and his Excellency the Count de Grasse, commanding in chief the Naval Army of France in the Chesapeake.

And on the 6th November, 1781, it was

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs be directed to prepare a sketch of emblems of the alliance, between his most Christian Majesty and the United States, proper to be inscribed on the marble column to be erected in the town of York, under the resolution of the 29th October last.

The congressional committee however concluded to leave the preparation of the sketch of emblems to the commission to be appointed by the Secretary of War. The report of this commission, consisting of R. W. Hunt, Samuel Van Brunt, and J. Q. A. Ward, was transmitted to the senate on the 20th of De-

cember last. The model of the column proposed is now to be seen at the War Department. Its height will vary according to the scale adopted, from 97 to 135 feet.

The following are the inscriptions submitted by the Commission for the four sides of the column:

North side.—Erected in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, adopted October 29, 1781, and an Act of Congress, June 7, 1880, to commemorate the victory by which the Independence of the United States of America was achieved.

South side.—On this spot, October 19, 1781, after a siege of nineteen days by 5,500 American and 7,000 French troops of the line, 3,500 American militia, and 36 French ships of war, Earl Cornwallis, Commander of the British forces at Yorktown and Gloucester, surrendered with his whole army, 7,251 officers and men, 840 seamen, 244 cannon, and 24 standards, to George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France, to the Comte de Rochambeau, commanding the French troops, and to the Comte de Grasse, commanding the French fleet.

East side.—The provisional articles of peace concluded November 30, 1782, and the definitive treaty of peace concluded September 3, 1783, between the United States of America and George III., the King of Great Britain and Ireland, declare: "His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent States."

West side.—The treaty concluded February 6, 1778, between the United States of America and Louis XVI., King of France, declares: "The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce."

The model forwarded is five feet and a half high. It consists of a Corinthian column and capital, designed by Mr. Hunt, surmounted with a figure bearing a round of others in high relief. For the statue at the top Mr. Ward submits four figures of Liberty and Victory for selection. In recesses in the sides of the pedestal from which the column springs are in front the coats of arms of France and the United States, side by side on the right naval and on the left army attributes; behind are emblems of peace. On a cylinder above are thirteen female figures in alto relief, representing the original colonies, hand joined to hand; on a band above each figure is an incised star. Beneath the figures the legend, "One Country, one Destiny, one Constitution." There are numerous other emblematic and architectural ornaments.

The design is said to be simple in conception, nobly graceful in form, and rich in detail, but the historic student will fail to find in it that marked predominance of emblems of the alliance which the resolutions of the old Congress, in the fullness of their gratitude to France, evidently contemplated.

The Society of the Cincinnati, which had a French branch at the time of its organization in 1783, will take an active part in the ceremonies.

The controversy between Archibald Forbes, the English lecturer, and J. T. Headley, our well-known American author, concerning inscriptions on the trophy guns exhibited at Washington's headquarters, Newburg, seems easy of solution. Forbes notices that upon a howitzer inscribed "captured at Yorktown October 1781," there is also inscribed "Douay, Berenger 1779," which proves it to have been of French construction, and cites a number of actions where it might have fallen into the Eng-

lish hands. This recondite search into possibilities seems unnecessary, when it is remembered that there were several engagements between the French and English fleets on the American coasts, and vessels captured on either side, between 1779 and 1781, in one of which this piece might have been part of the prize. Moreover, the Guadalupe, one of the vessels which protected Cornwallis' flank at York, was, as its name implies, originally a French vessel which had fallen into English hands, and came into those of the French and Americans at the surrender.

Mr. Headley's explanation of the probable history of the guns bearing the inscription "Liberté and Egalité," and the date of construction, "*an* 3" (1792), viz., that they were English trophies of the wars of Napoleon which fell into American hands in the Anglo-American war of 1812 is no doubt correct.

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Philip Leadbeater Freneau, son of the late Edward Leadbeater Freneau, and grandson of Philip Freneau, the well-known poet and satirist of the revolutionary period, died at Fort Hamilton, Long Island, on the 10th December, in his 58th year. The family are of Huguenot descent. His ancestors were of the founders of the church of St. Esprit in Pine street. Their homestead was in Hanover Square. The deceased was the head of a well-known house in the woolen trade of New York.

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Epes Sargent, whose name has been familiar for the last forty years as an author, journalist and writer of plays,

died in Boston, Friday, the 31st of December. He was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1812. He assisted Peter Parley (Samuel Goodrich) in his tales for youth. Among his successful plays were the *Bride of Genoa*, written for Josephine Clifton, and the tragedy of *Velasco* for Miss Ellen Tree. He was one of the editors of the *New Monthly Magazine*, and later of the *Boston Transcript*. He was a prolific and versatile writer. He is best known by his series of *School Readers*, *Spellers* and *Speakers*.

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Michigan claims a centenarian in the person of John P. Simpson, a resident of Capac, in St. Clair county. He was born at Leeds, England, October, 1780. Landing at Vermont, he crossed to the New York frontier. About thirty-five years ago he settled on the Pontiac road near Detroit. In 1861 he moved to St. Clair county. The notice of his eventful life describes him as prostrated by a recent stroke of paralysis.

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Benjamin Rhodes, the courteous librarian of the Redwood Library at Newport, Rhode Island, died in that city December 23d.

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No decision has yet been reached by the Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress in regard to the location for the new building, but there is reason to believe that Judiciary Square will be selected. The Congressional Library now contains three hundred and seventy-five thousand volumes, exclusive of its large collection of

newspapers and pamphlets, and it is estimated that in sixteen years the number of books will reach a million and a half. This accumulation meets with criticism and opposition from quarters where least expected. Surely there should be one library, and that national, where every volume published in America may be accessible; a result easily obtained with sufficient space and a well devised system of card catalogues.

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The addition of a new wing to the Astor Library, and of a story to the central part of the building, give it a finished appearance. The three sections have been erected consecutively by the founder, John Jacob Astor, his son William B. Astor and John Jacob Astor, son of the last named. The number of volumes is nearly two hundred thousand. It is desirable that in any increase the scheme of Mr. Cogswell of a great reference library should be adhered to.

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The experiment of a Free Circulating Library in New York, though modestly begun, has proved entirely successful; and the fact is demonstrated that books can be given out to applicants almost indiscriminately without serious damage or loss. The first Annual Report shows that of 22,558 volumes loaned, only two were lost. This institution has a great future before it, and has a fair claim to a share of municipal appropriation.

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The Mercantile Library of Baltimore is about to enter upon a new era in its history, Mr. John W. McCoy, President of the Association, having made a magnificent offer, which, if met in a spirit of

liberality by those who have the welfare of the city at heart, will place this excellent institution on a basis of permanent usefulness, and obtain for it a home. He proposes to secure the rent of a commodious building, to be immediately constructed on the corner of Charles and Saratoga streets, in a sum of \$2,500 per annum for five years, and if the public will equip and endow it with a fund equal to \$3,000 annually, he will convert the guarantee into an absolute gift of \$10,000.

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It has been until recently supposed that the lettres galantes, written to Aaron Burr and carefully preserved by him, were destroyed after his death by Matthew L. Davis, his friend, who assumed the administration of his estate; but Mr. Thurlow Weed, in a conversation lately published in the Indianapolis Journal, and from it republished by the New York Evening Post, stated that many of them were returned to their authors. In the reprint of the conversation in the latter paper it is added "that these letters have not been destroyed, but a large number of them are now packed away in a house in a village on Long Island."

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The Hon. Alexander H. H. Stewart of Virginia, in a letter giving an account of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence at Stanton, Virginia, relates an impressive scene which occurred at the Eagle Tavern there July 4, 1826. In the midst of the festivities, the intelligence of the death near noon that day of Thomas Jefferson was received. Mr. Chapman

Johnson, to whom it was communicated, rose, requested all present to fill their glasses, rise and remain standing, when in solemn manner he offered the following beautiful impromptu sentiment: "The memory of Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence! Though the mortal man may never witness another celebration of the day which his pen has so much illustrated, his immortal spirit will be present and inspire the last anthem which hallows his memory."

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The Texas press gives information of a plan to divide that vast territory into four new additional states, which is to be submitted at the coming meeting of its Legislature. The joint resolution of Congress, for annexing Texas to the United States, provides for such division, stipulating only that these new additional states shall have sufficient population and be formed by consent of the said state. The last census shows that she has sufficient population. It is held, however, that her sale of her claim to New Mexico limits her right to three additional states. An attempt at this period to exercise this right would give rise to a sectional controversy similar to that which arose over Kansas. How far the secession of Texas, and the consequent action of Congress necessary to her admission to the Union, may have affected this privilege, is a matter for the Supreme Court to decide.

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The Archæological Institute of America, established in Boston, has recently sent out an expedition to investigate the remains of the ancient Greek city of

Assos, which lies on Turkish soil, on the Southern coast of Mysia, in Asia Minor, east of the promontory of Lectum, the modern cape Baba, in the plain of Troy. For the archæologist it is said to be virgin soil. The ruins are extensive, including an acropolis, a temple, a theatre, and walls with gate-ways and towers; unquestionable remains of Greek fortification.

The names of the Brulé Sioux chiefs now in Washington, to complete the negotiations for railroad rights of way through their reservation, are White Ghost, Iron Native, Dear Hand, Little Pheasant, Medicine Bull, Bull Head, Don't-Know-How, Dog Back, Bear Bird, Big Mane, Weasel and Handsome Elk.

Mr. A. S. Logan, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Indian chief of the Six Nations of that name, has been appointed by Secretary Schurz to a position in the Interior Department.

The portrait of Pitaleharu, head chief of the Pawnees, which appeared in the November number of this Magazine, an engraving on wood by J. H. Richardson, our oldest wood engraver, is pronounced to be one of the finest specimens of that art in this country.

The drawings of Headquarters and houses which have appeared in our pages, have all been from original sketches by Mr. Abram Hosier, who has in his portfolio a large number of drawings of this character.

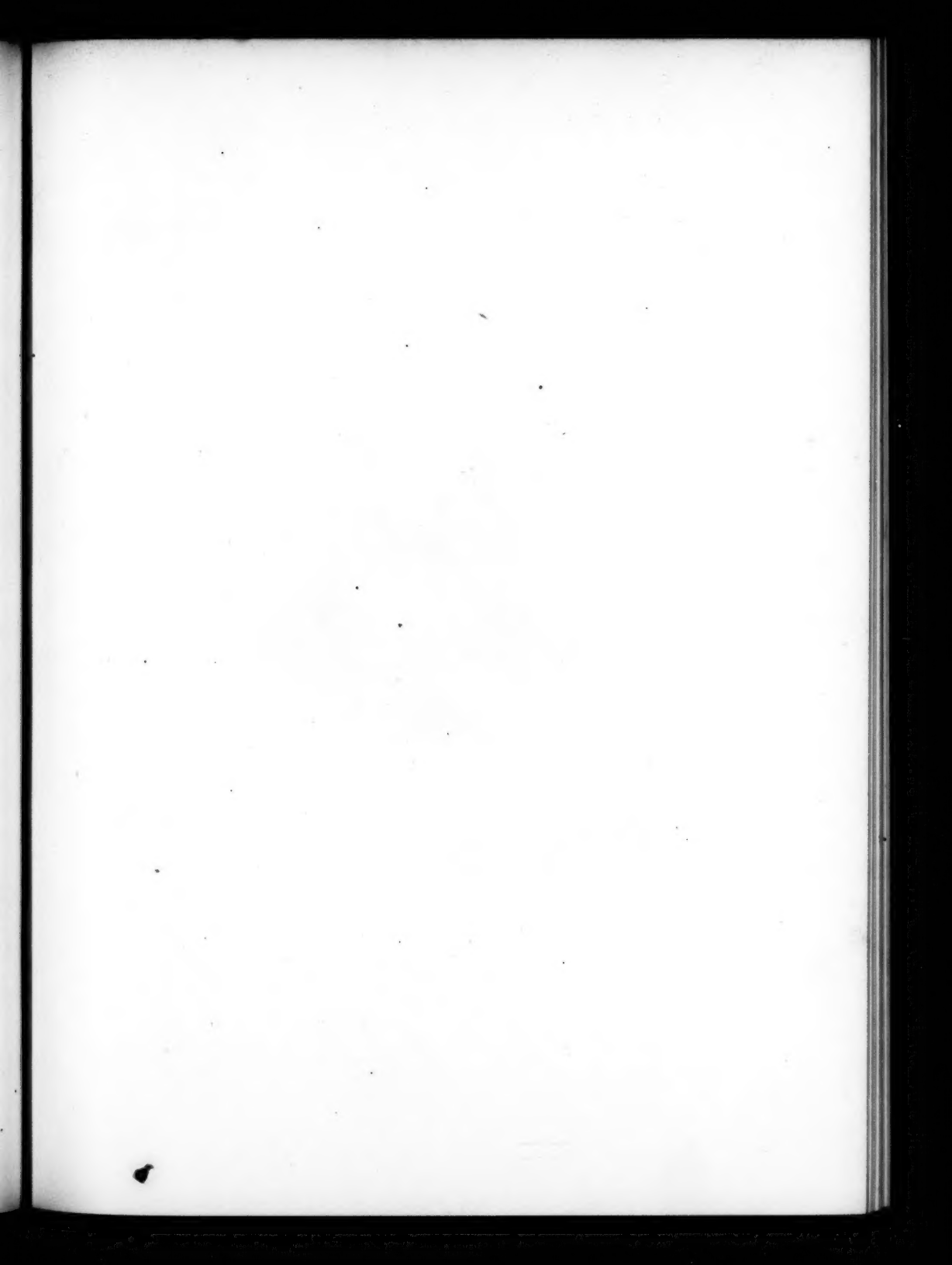
Historical interest throughout the country is greatly promoted through adoption by local newspapers of a de-

partment of Notes and Queries. The Daily Telegraph, Harrisburgh, Penn., prints two columns of historical and geological information in its issue of Jan. 1st. The Richmond Standard, under the same title, publishes a series of valuable contributions on Virginia family history.

To the Christian Advocate, of Thursday, December 30th, under the title of the Capture and execution of Maj. André, Rev. D. Curry, D.D., contributes a careful, well poised examination or study of this always interesting subject. For the first time we find applied to the conduct of André in his last extremity the just epithet of melo-dramatic. Viewing it in its moral light he considers his case as one that calls for the sternest condemnation. Dr. Curry proposes in another article to consider the subject in respect to the actions and motives of his captors. This paper we await with interest.

The destruction by fire on the night of the 1st of January, 1881, of the historical buildings of Mt. St. Vincent, in Central Park, East 103d street, destroyed another of the few remaining land marks of old New York. The wooden structure with its old fashion beams and fire places, was built before the Revolution by Andrew McGown, and was on the line of the British outposts during the late summer and fall, 1776, when the armies of Washington and Howe watched each other from the Point of Rocks and the heights which overlooked McGown's Pass; the Harlem Plains, fertile, uninhabited and debatable ground, lay between.







Christian Eberger  
Colo 2<sup>nd</sup> N York

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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### KASKASKIA AND ITS PARISH RECORDS ,

IN Southern Illinois, near the Mississippi, a hundred miles or more above the mouth of the Ohio, is situated the ancient village of Kaskaskia, supposed to be the oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Father of the waters. The eminent historian who concedes to it this distinction finds it difficult to fix the date of its origin, and leaves that undetermined.<sup>1</sup> Its foundation has been variously ascribed to members of La Salle's expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi on their return in 1682,<sup>2</sup> to Father James Gravier in 1683 or in 1685,<sup>3</sup> to Tonti in 1686,<sup>4</sup> and to others still, missionaries or explorers, at different dates in the latter part of the seventeenth century. But the uncertainty upon this point has arisen, in part at least, from the confounding of Kaskaskia with an earlier Indian settlement of the same name on the Illinois river, where was established the Jesuit mission afterwards removed to the existing village. And this, perhaps, will be more apparent from a brief sketch of the history of that mission.

When Father Marquette returned from his adventurous voyage upon the Mississippi in 1673, by the way of the Illinois, he found on the latter river a village of the Illinois tribe, containing seventy-four cabins, which was called Kaskaskia. Its inhabitants received him well, and obtained from him a promise to return and instruct them. He kept that promise faithfully; undaunted by disease and toilsome journeys and inclement weather, and, after a rude wintering by the Chicago river, reached the Illinois village again, April 8th, 1675.<sup>5</sup> The site of this Indian settlement has since been identified with the great meadow south of the modern town of Utica in the State of Illinois, and nearly opposite to the tall cliff soon after known as Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, and in later times as Starved Rock.<sup>6</sup> Marquette established there a mission, to which he gave the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin,